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INTRODUCTION

For anyone with basic knowledge of Chinese Buddhism, the dharma-name Zhanran 湛然, which literally means “profound and tranquil (water),” brings to mind the Ninth Tiantai Patriarch Zhanran (711-782), who is accredited with the revival of the Tiantai tradition in the mid Tang after a century of obscurity.¹ His prominence has led scholars to mistake him with a Chan master with the same dharma name.

* A primary source of inspirations for me to write this article derived from the work done by Professors Antonino Forte and Linda Penkower as well as my communication with them. My teachers Professors Shinohara Koichi 篠原亨一, Robert Sharf and Aramaki Noritoshi 荒牧典俊 have, as always, sagaciously and patiently advised me throughout the research done for this article. Professor Hubert Durt read the draft of this article in different stages and made valuable comments. Among friends providing assistance in the preparation of this article are Elizabeth Morrison, Funayama Toru 船山徹, John Kieschnick, Elizabeth Kenney and Catherine Ludvik. Finally, this article is a by-product of my research on Sengcan, which is one project for my current two-year post-doctoral research in the Institute for Research in Humanities (Jinbun kagaku kenkyūsho 人文科學研究所) at Kyoto University 京都大學. I hereby acknowledge the generous support the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS, Nihon gakujutsu shinkokai 日本學術振興會) has provided for this post-doctoral research. Finally, I want to thank the participants of the Tang Religion Seminar headed by Professor Yoshikawa Tadao 吉川忠夫 of the Institute for Research in Humanities at Kyoto University for their detailed and valuable comments on my presentation about the research that is now incorporated in the present article.

1. The most recent and detailed study of Zhanran's role in establishing the Tiantai tradition as a whole is provided by Linda PENKOWER's 1993 Ph. D dissertation. Her 1997 article represents a more focussed and refined study of the same issue. There is near-consensus among Tiantai scholars that Tiantai enjoyed continuous success and prosperity under the Sui dynasty and that its excessively close connections to the Sui imperial family threw it into a drastic decline following the establishment of the Tang. PENKOWER, following the lead of Japanese Tiantai

A monk called Zhanran figured heavily in a 772 bid for imperial recognition of the obscure monk Sengcan 僧璨 (d. before 604) as the Third Chan Patriarch.² Scholars have usually regarded this Zhanran as the great Tiantai master Zhanran, even though this identification creates quite a few difficulties, suggesting as it does that one of the most outspoken Tiantai partisans ardently supported a different school by promoting one of its patriarchs out of his obscurity. The identification is even more far-fetched when we take into account the fact that Tiantai Zhanran was a fierce critic of Chan. The steadiness with which Chan followers aggressively gained ground during Zhanran's life stimulated and sharpened his sectarian consciousness, which expressed itself in bitter criticisms of Chan.³

Identifying a different and Chan-affiliated Zhanran resolves this problem. It also, as we will see in this article, introduces us to the Chan master Zhanran as a person of no little insignificance. Not only was he a key player behind a series of important Chan campaigns, but he also,

scholars (Sekiguchi in particular, see SEKIGUCHI 1959), has redressed Shimaji's "Dark Age" designation of Tang Tiantai by working on regional and cultic factions. Her work has to some extent deconstructed the notion of a Tang Tiantai lineage exclusively based at the Guoqinsi 國清寺 temple. In one of my recent articles and my newly finished book on Tiantai sectarian historiography, I also questioned the validity of the conventional view regarding Sui-Tang Tiantai Buddhism. In my opinion, the Sui rulers actually chose to neglect the Guoqingsi-based Tiantai group within a decade of Zhiyi's death in 597, while Tiantai seemed to have been much more active and influential in the Tang (at least in the early Tang) than Tiantai scholars have assumed (CHEN Jinhua 1999 and in press).

2. Of the first six Chinese Chan patriarchs, Sengcan is the only one not accorded a separate biography in any of the three major Chinese monastic biographical anthologies. Probably to compensate for Sengcan's obscurity, beginning in the eighth century a series of campaigns, two of which are discussed in this article, were launched to glorify him. I will discuss the legends related to Sengcan in a forthcoming article tentatively entitled "Story and History: The Evolution of Legends Related to the Third Chan Patriarch Sengcan."
3. In his work *Zhiguan yili* 止觀義例 (Principles of meditation and contemplation) Zhanran severely attacked Chan Buddhism by accusing it of over-emphasizing religious cultivation (*xiu* 修) and experience (*zheng* 證) at the expense of teachings (*jiao* 教) and knowledge (*zhi* 知), the so-called "xiu er wujiao, zheng er buzhi 修而無教，證而不知" (cf. JAN 1988: 101). Furthermore, as some Tiantai scholars correctly understand, Zhanran's emphasis on the Tiantai *panjiao* 判教 (ranking of Buddhist teachings) scheme was in fact a reaction to and stand against the emerging self-consciousness of contemporary non-Tiantai Buddhist sects, including Chan (PENKOWER 1993: 244-71).

more remarkably, became a Northern Chan leader who debated a chief Southern Chan representative in an officially convened, large-scale Chan council, held at the palace monastery in 796. Scholars have mistakenly identified this Chan master Zhanran with the Tiantai patriarch Zhanran in spite of the fact that the debate was held exactly fourteen years after the death of Tiantai Zhanran, and despite the fact that this Zhanran enthusiastically defended the Northern Chan tradition by acrimoniously denouncing the teachings of "Suddenness" advocated by Southern Chan.

This confusion of an obviously rather important Northern Chan master with the contemporary Tiantai monk of the same name can be traced to two factors. The first and more general issue is of course the failure to keep the possibility open that two, or even more, contemporaneous monks bore the same dharma-name. As I am to show in this article, Tiantai Zhanran had a second contemporaneous and homonymous "dharma brother," who, as a highly accomplished calligrapher, turned out to be a bitter critic of Tiantai Buddhism and possibly a follower of Northern Chan.

The other reason is more specific. Tiantai and Chan scholars have failed to look more closely into the rise and development of the Chan campaigns for glorifying Sengcan. As a matter of fact, the campaign to glorify Sengcan in the 770s was based on and a continuation of a campaign of a similar nature that took place two and half decades earlier, in which a monk called Zhanran had already participated. We will see that the two related campaigns, examined together, will establish both the identity of a Northern Chan master and build up the difficulties of identifying him with his Tiantai homonymous contemporary.

Furthermore, the epitaph reporting the Chan master Zhanran's participation in the Chan council fails to specify its date. This has enshrouded the epitaph in mystery and prevented scholars from recognizing that the Chan master Zhanran outlived Tiantai Zhanran by fourteen years.

Accordingly, in order to clarify the confusions originating from but by no means limited to this Chan Master Zhanran, we must begin with an in-depth investigation of a larger Chan propagandist project aimed at promoting Sengcan's prestige, of which the 770s campaign was merely one part. This leads us to the fifth year of the Tianbao 天寶 era (746) under the reign of the Tang Emperor Xuanzong 唐玄宗 (r. 712-56), when the earlier campaign for Sengcan's fame began.

I. *Shangusi Zhanran and the Wangongshan Pagoda Erected in Sengcan's Memory*

An inscription ascribed to the renowned Tang bureaucrat Fang Guan 房琯 (697-63),⁴ which is now included in the *Baolin zhuan* 寶林傳,⁵ credits the erection of a pagoda in memory of Sengcan to the piety and efforts of a local official called Li Chang 李常 (n.d.).⁶ Formerly the Vice Prefect (*shaoyin* 少尹) of the He'nan 河南 Commandery, Li Chang was, as this inscription tells us, demoted in 746 to a new position, Administrative Aide (*biejia* 別駕) of the Prefect of Shuzhou 舒州, where Mount Wangong 皖公山 was located.⁷ It was generally believed that Sengcan died at Wangongshan after living there for several years.⁸ The inscription as reproduced in the *Baolin zhuan* does not bear a date, and the *Baolin zhuan* author does not take the trouble to date it. Another source, however, establishes that it was written in 762.⁹

4. An important aide to Tang Xuanzong and Tang Suzong 唐肅宗 (r. 756-62) after they were forced into an exile in 755 by An Lushan 安祿山 (?-757), who rebelled against the Tang government, Fang Guan's biography is found in JTS111 10: 3320-25, XTS139 15: 4625-28.
5. Compiled in 801 by an otherwise unknown monk called Zhiju 智炬 (a.k.a. Huiju 慧炬, n.d) (cf. YAMPOLSKY 1967: 47, note 166).
6. In the XTS *zaixiang shixi* 宰相世系 (Lineages of the [Tang] Prime Ministers) Li Chang is listed as a member of the Li clan of Zhaojun 趙郡李氏 (XTS72 8: 2477). This was a prestigious clan in Tang, or even almost the whole imperial China (JOHNSON 1977). Six branches of this clan alone produced seventeen prime ministers for the Tang Dynasty (XTS72 8: 2599). Renowned literati-bureaucrats (*shidafu* 士大夫) coming from this clan included Li Hua 李華 (710?-766?), who was a fervent Buddhist follower and contributed numerous epitaphs for Buddhist monks (for Li Hua's relation to Buddhism, see VITA 1988).
7. According to an account attached to Sengcan's BLZ biography, to be discussed towards the end of this section, the edict for this re-installment was issued by Xuanzong on the 13th day of the 7th month of 746 (BLZ 8: 40).
8. The attempt to associate Sengcan with Wangongshan can be traced back to two of the earliest Chan historico-biographical texts, the *Chuan fabao ji* 傳法寶記 (Record of the transmission of dharma-treasure) compiled ca. 710 (YAMPOLSKY 1967: 5), and the *Lengjia shizi ji* 楞迦師資記 (Record of the masters and disciples belonging to the *Lankāvatāra* school), which was completed before 716 (BARRETT 1991). According to these two texts, Sengcan died on the mountain after living there as a recluse for several years (YANAGIDA 1971: 167-68, 371-72).
9. This date is given by Zhao Mingcheng 趙明誠 (1081-1129), the Song compiler of the *Jinshi lu* 金石錄 (Epigraphic Collection). Zhao Mingcheng provides the

This inscription narrates how during a visit to Wangongshan on his way to a new position in Shuzhou, Li Chang paid a visit to Sengcan's alleged tomb there. He was saddened to see that the *caṅkramaṇa* (*jingxing* 經行) was desolate and Sengcan's tomb overgrown with weeds.¹⁰ This prompted him to renovate Sengcan's tomb, a decision which met with widespread support. Accordingly, Sengcan's coffin was disinterred and his remains cremated. The cremation reportedly yielded a quantity of *śarīra*, and a "treasure pagoda" was subsequently built in Sengcan's memory.¹¹

following information for a stele which, numbered 1378 in his huge collection, is entitled "*Tang Shangusi Can Dashi bei* 唐山谷寺璨大師碑 (The stele for Great Master [Sengcan erected at the Shangusi in the Tang]": 房瑄撰·徐浩八分書·元年建辰月 ("drafted by Fang Guan, hand-written by Xu Hao [703-79, biographies in JTS137 11: 3759, XTS85 16: 4965-66], in the *bafenshu* style. Erected in the *jianchen* 建辰 [third] month of the first year." SKSLXB 12: 8846). Here, Zhao Mingcheng does not specify to which era this so-called *yuannian* 元年 (first year) belonged. Three more entries, numbered 1377, 1379, 1380 (one rightly preceding and two immediately following Fang Guan's inscription), are also similarly dated. Actually, this *yuannian* indicates a singular period in Chinese history without a reign name (*nianhao* 年號), which lasted for six months, from Shangyuan 上元 2/9/21 when Suzong decreed the abolition of reign names, and Yuannian 1/4/16, when the same emperor restored the reign name system by introducing a new reign name – Baoying 寶應 (HU 1988: 370-76).

10. "愴經行之丘墟，慨塋壟之蕪沒 (BLZ 8: 40)." Usually, the word *jingxing* refers to the practice of monks walking to and fro within a specific place in between meditation sessions mainly for the purpose of warding off sleepiness. It gave the body a chance to stretch so seated meditation could continue. It was perhaps also a form of walking meditation (this was suggested by Elizabeth MORRISON). As the word is used as a noun in this case, it indicates the place for such an exercise. Another example of this usage of the term *jingxing* is found in the inscription Yan Tingzhi 嚴挺之 (673-742), an important supporter of Northern Chan (biographies in the two Tang histories found in JTS99 9: 3103-06, XTS129 14: 4482-83), wrote for Yifu 義福 (661-736), one of the two chief disciples of the Northern Chan leader Shenxiu 神秀 (606?-706), "既至，而如公遷謝。悵然悲憤，追踐經行者久之 (After [Yifu] arrived [at Mount Song], Reverend [Fa]ru had passed away. Disappointed and sorrow-stricken, he tread along the *jingxing* [where Faru walked in between his meditation sessions] for a long while (QW280 3: 2842a13)." The word used in this sense is equivalent to the Sanskrit word *caṅkramaṇa*, which can be a cloister, or a corridor of a temple, some of the places for the *jingxing* exercise (cf. SOOTHILL 1982: 409).
11. An account in Sengcan's BLZ biography mentions that this auspicious sight prompted Li Chang to donate a portion of his income to erect a pagoda for Sengcan's memory.

Like other Chan historico-biographical works, the *Baolin zhuan* contains numerous legends and documents of dubious reliability. Therefore, a few words are needed about the authenticity of this inscription ascribed to Fang Guan before we begin to analyze its content in detail. The *Baolin zhuan* biography of Huike 慧可 (487-593), the second Chan patriarch, contains an inscription supposedly written by a renowned Buddhist defender Falin 法琳 (572-640).¹² Because of its reference to an expression far post-dating Huike or Falin, this inscription has generally been considered a fabrication, which used Falin's fame to increase Huike's prestige.¹³ This might cast a shadow on the authenticity of Fang Guan's inscription included in Sengcan's *Baolin zhuan* biography, which immediately follows Huike's. However, the authenticity of Fang Guan's inscription is supported by quite reliable sources. The stele with Fang Guan's inscription is recorded in a Song collection of epigraphy.¹⁴ More importantly, as we will see in the next section, Fang Guan's inscription was seen in person by a Tang writer who mentioned it in an inscription he wrote in 773, that is, a mere ten years after Fang Guan's death and eleven years after Fang Guan's inscription was written. The ascription of this inscription to this Tang writer is, in itself, quite reliable, a fact which will become clear in the next section. Therefore, unless strong evidence emerges to argue for the opposite, we can accept Fang Guan's inscription as authentic although we must, needless to say, view its content critically.

Fang Guan's inscription describes the pagoda dedicated to Sengcan as an awe-inspiring structure, huge and impressive,

寶塔肇興，莊嚴云備。古木新拱，丹翠相發。松梢林於月桂，輪掣足其辰極。迴廊共崇岡復抱，長鍾與嵌巖疊韻。兩方登降，雙刹俯仰。煥彼幽谷，燭乎長川。¹⁵

Once the treasure pagoda was finished, it looked overwhelmingly magnificent. The old woods in red and the new trees in green set each other off very beauti-

12. A Tang monk famous for his efforts to defend Buddhism from attacks, mainly those advanced by Daoists. In addition to a separate three-juan biography of him by Yanzong 彦棕 (557-610) (T no. 2051, vol. 50), he was accorded a biography in the XGSZ (636b-639a).
13. The expression in question is *dongshan famen* 東山法門 ("Teaching of the East Mountain"), which did not come into common use until the time of Hongren 宏忍 (602-75), the fifth Chan patriarch.
14. Cf. note (9).
15. BLZ 8: 40-41.

fully. Pine trees stand out among the forest, reaching out to the moon, which, in turn, runs after the feet of the polestar. The winding corridors seem to be embraced by the lofty ridges, while the drawn-out sounds of the bell reverberate from the inlaid cliff. One can ascend to and descend from the pagoda from both sides. The two buildings¹⁶ stand face to face, with [the pagoda] overlooking [the temple] and [the temple] looking up at [the pagoda]. [The pagoda] lightens up the deep ravine and illuminates the long river.

We note that sixteen years elapsed between the year 746, when Li Chang determined to build a pagoda for Sengcan, and the year 762, when Fang Guan took up his brush to write this inscription for the pagoda. If Fang Guan was asked to write the inscription shortly after the construction of the pagoda, it had taken almost 16 years to build it. Even given its magnificence and size,¹⁷ it still seems unlikely that the construction of the pagoda would have taken that long. This leads me to assume that the memorial stele was not erected until several years after the pagoda had been constructed. A passage in the inscription corroborates this assumption:

非別駕李公，孰能權輿建立，光若此者？非¹⁸上座惠欽，寺主崇英，都維那湛然，禪師道幽，孰能保護營衛，自初有終？¹⁹

But for the Honorable Li, the Administrative Aide of the Prefect, who would have taken the initiative to build this pagoda, which has illuminated this place to such an extent? But for *shangzuo* 上座 Huiqin 惠欽 (n.d.), *sizhu* 寺主 Chongying (n.d.), *duweina* 都維那 Zhanran 湛然 and Chan Master Daoyou 道幽 (n.d.),²⁰ who would have protected and maintained this pagoda and brought a [good] beginning to a [fruitful] result?

In addition to praising Li Chang's efforts to initiate the erection of this pagoda, Fang Guan here underscores the role four monks played in "protecting and maintaining" (*baohu yinwei* 保護營衛) the pagoda after it was completed. This means that by the time Fang Guan wrote this

16. The two buildings might refer to the pagoda and the Shangusi which was not far from the pagoda.
17. The magnificence of Sengcan's pagoda at the Shangusi is also corroborated by a poem by Dugu Ji which I will discuss in section (II).
18. The original text has the character *hu* 乎 here. The context suggests, however, that the character should be *fei* 非 (like the first sentence, the second was also organized by the same 非 ... 孰能 structure).
19. BLZ 8: 41.
20. Other than Zhanran, these monks mentioned here are otherwise unknown.

inscription, the pagoda had already been completed and been under the protection of the four monks for some time.

Since they are identified in terms of the three most important appointments of a temple (*shangzuo*, *sizhu* and *duweina*),²¹ the three monks Huiqin, Chongying and Zhanran, along with Daoyou, whom Fang Guan identifies as a Chan master (*chanshi* 禪師), belonged to one and the same temple, presumably the Shangusi 山谷寺, in which, as Fang Guan tells us, Sengcan spent his last years.²² However, we cannot say that the four monks were already at the temple when Li Chang visited it. We should not forget the desolate sight that greeted Li Chang when he visited Sengcan's tomb in 746. Both the *jingxing*, which was close to if not inside the Shangusi itself, and Sengcan's tomb were deserted, a fact strongly suggesting that the Shangusi did not function as a temple at that time. Had the temple then housed a group of monks (no matter how few), the place where the third Chan patriarch was allegedly entombed would not have been so neglected.

In addition, it is Fang Guan's understanding that Li Chang himself was exclusively responsible for initiating the construction of the pagoda which, after completion, was entrusted to the four monks for protection and maintenance. Had the four monks already been at the Shangusi, they would also have participated in planning the construction of the pagoda. In that case, Fang Guan would not have drawn such a clear-cut distinction between Li Chang's role and theirs and defined their role merely as bringing "a good thing to a fruitful result." For these two reasons, we have to think that the four monks including Zhanran were probably not

21. The *sizhu* 寺主 (abbot; Skt. *vihārasvāmin*), *shangzuo* 上座 (head monk; Skt. *sthavira*) and *duweina* 都維那 (administer of the temple; Skt. *karmadāna*), jointly called *sangang* 三綱 (three principal monks), are the three most important posts in a temple. As MICHIHATA and FORTE point out, usually the *sizhu*, rather than *shangzuo*, held the highest leadership of a temple (MICHIHATA 1967: 98-100; FORTE 1976: 87-88).
22. According to Fang Guan, the Shangusi was located on the south side of Wangongshan. When Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou 北周武帝 (r. 560-78) waged a wide-scale persecution of Buddhism in 574, Huike and Sengcan fled to Wangongshan and lived at the Shangusi for several years. Although Fang Guan also says in the inscription that Sengcan died in a dharma-assembly held on Wangongshan, he seems to suggest that the assembly was held at the Shangusi temple (I suggest a possible origin of the Shangusi at Wangongshan in my forthcoming article about Sengcan).

at the Shangusi until the construction of the pagoda was underway or completed.

From the foregoing analysis of Fang Guan's inscription, we can conclude the following about the monk Zhanran mentioned therein. First, this Zhanran arrived at the Shangusi temple at Wangongshan sometime after 746 and had been made the *duweina* of the temple no later than 762. Second, as one of the three chief monks of the Shangusi, he acted as a care-taker of Sengcan's pagoda. Finally, his eminent status at the temple where the third Chan patriarch was believed to have died suggests that he was a Chan master.

Since to the end of this article we are going to make a reappraisal of the validity of the conventional view regarding Shenhui's 神會 (684-758) connection to this campaign for Sengcan's prominence initiated by Li Chang, we cannot close this section without some words on an account at the end of Sengcan's biography in the *Baolin zhuan*, which suggests that Shenhui played an important role in the erection of the Wangongshan pagoda. As this account goes, it was through a talk with Shenhui at the Hezesi 荷澤寺 in Luoyang that Li Chang learned of the existence of Sengcan's tomb and its specific location.²³ This *Baolin zhuan* account reiterates Shenhui's close connection to this movement of glorifying Sengcan by stating that Li Chang presented one third of the

23. Sometime in 746 while serving in the He'nan Command, according to this BLZ account, Li Chang visited the Hezesi in person and inquired of Shenhui, who was then dwelling at the temple, about the location of Sengcan's tomb, since he was concerned about the truth of a saying that Sengcan went to Mount Luofu 羅浮山 from which he never returned. Shenhui exhorted him not to place too much stock in this kind of saying, assuring him that what is essential in Sengcan's teachings was a piece of work which, "elegant in style and harmonious in rhyme, was comprehensive in praising the Great Way (文佳合韻·贊大道而無遺)" (This might have referred to the *Xinxin ming* 信心銘 [Inscription on relying on the mind], a philosophical essay in rhyme attributed to Sengcan). Still, Shenhui ended the conversation with the remark that Sengcan's tomb was located to the north of the Shangusi at Wangongshan in Shuzhou. Even so, Li Chang remained suspicious of the existence of Sengcan's tomb. Shortly after that, he was demoted and offered a new position in Shuzhou. Three days after he had assumed his new job, Li Chang was visited by some local Buddhist and Taoist priests. He asked his visitors whether or not there was a Shangusi in Shuzhou and whether or not Sengcan's tomb was located behind the temple. To each of these two questions, Li Chang received an affirmative answer from the *shangzuo* 上座 Monk Huiguan 惠觀. Thus, accompanied by some officials, Li Chang went to the Shangusi to visit Sengcan's tomb on the 10th day of the 11th month of that year (746) (this BLZ account is paraphrased in YAMPOLSKY 1967: 50-51).

three hundred pieces of *śarīra*, which were collected from Sengcan's cremated remains, to Shenhui, who erected a pagoda in front of the bathhouse (*yutangyuan* 浴室院) at the Hezesi to house them.²⁴

Shenhui's alleged role in the erection of Sengcan's pagoda, coupled with the fact that Fang Guan at least once lent important support to Shenhui when Shenhui was engaged in establishing his version of the Chan lineage,²⁵ led HU Shi 胡適 (1891-1962) to assume that Fang Guan wrote this inscription under Shenhui's commission.²⁶ Since the Song author Zhao Mingcheng dates Fang Guan's inscription to 762, HU Shi proposed new dates for Shenhui's birth and death (670-762), in contrast to the traditional ones given by Shenhui's biography in the *Song gao-sengzhuan* 宋高僧傳 (686-760).²⁷ These dates proposed by HU Shi were widely accepted by Chan scholars, including YANAGIDA Seizan, 柳田聖山 until they were recently invalidated by a newly unearthed funeral stele which, erected merely seven years after Shenhui's death, establishes Shenhui's dates of birth and death as 684-758.²⁸ Since Fang Guan wrote the inscription four years after Shenhui's death, it is doubtful that Shenhui ever exerted any significant influence on Fang Guan's decision to write it.

It must also be noted that this *Baolin zhuan* account states that in Tian bao 10 (751), Xuanzong conferred on Sengcan a title "Jingzhi 鏡智

24. As for the rest of Sengcan's *śarīra*, this BLZ account informs us that half was enshrined in the newly erected pagoda for Sengcan, while the other half was worshipped in Li Chang's own house.
25. It is recorded in Huineng's SGSZ biography that Shenhui established at his home temple, the Hezesi, a memorial hall (*zhentang* 真堂) for Huineng, where Huineng's portraits were probably hung (if the word *zhen* 真 in the *zhentang* can be understood as portrait, for the usage of this word as portraiture in the Chinese Buddhist, especially Chan, literature, see FOULK & SHARF 1993-94). A general under Xuanzong's reign Song Ding 宋鼎 (n.d., described in some details in JTS197 16: 5275) wrote an inscription for this hall. When Shenhui made a chart of the Indian and Chinese Chan patriarchs, Fang Guan penned a preface for it (會序宗脈，從如來下西域諸祖外，震旦凡六祖，盡圖繪其影，尉房瓘作<六葉圖序>; 755b10-13).
26. DUMOULIN 1988: 104-05.
27. Shenhui's SGSZ biography has it that he died in Shangyuan 1 (760) at the age of 93 (757a).
28. For scholars who accepted the new dates of Shenhui suggested by HU Shi, see YANAGIDA 1967: 33, CH'EN 1964: 353, etc. For discussion of the implication of the newly found epitaph of Shenhui, see WEN 1984, ZHANG 1991, MCRAE 1987, and 1993-94.

(mirror-like wisdom)” and decreed that his pagoda be called “Jueji 覺寂 (the tranquility of enlightenment).” This contradicts an inscription to be discussed in the next section, according to which the conferral of the title and name in question did not take place until 772. Finally, it must be noted that the *Baolin zhuan* author has wrongly identified the cyclical designations (*sui* 歲) for two years at the Tianbao era.²⁹ All this indicates that while we have to accept the authenticity of Fang Guan’s inscription included in the *Baolin zhuan*, the *Baolin zhuan* account relevant to the 740s campaign for Sengcan’s prestige cannot be read without reservation. It is very probable that his strong ties to Southern Chan caused the *Baolin zhuan* author to link by force this campaign to Shenhui, who bore, in all likelihood, no discernible connection to that campaign, a point to which we will return at the conclusion of this article.

II. The Monk Zhanran in the 770s Campaign for Sengcan’s Prestige

We are now in a position to consider another inscription attributed to the renowned Tang writer and bureaucrat Dugu Ji 獨孤及 (725-77).³⁰ If

29. The BLZ author gives *yiqiu* 乙酉 and *gengyin* 庚寅 as the cyclical designations for Tianbao 5 (746) and 9 (750) (BLZ 8: 42, 44), while the correct ones are *bingxu* 丙戌 and *renchen* 壬辰.
30. Entitled “Shuzhou Shangusi Juejita Sui gu Jingzhi Chanshi beiming 舒州山谷寺覺寂塔隋故鏡智禪師碑銘 (Inscription for the stele dedicated to the pagoda of Jueji, erected at the Shangusi temple in Shuzhou for the late Chan Master Jingzhi of the Sui),” this inscription is found in Dugu Ji’s *Piling ji* 毘陵集 (The collection of Piling) (SKQS 1072: 228-30). It is also preserved in the QTW (QW390 4: 5021a15-5022b14) and *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載 (A general record of successive Buddhist patriarchs; T2036.49.603a-604a). According to Zhao Mingcheng, this inscription was written in the 12th month of Dali 8 (773) and Zhang Chongshen 張重申 (n.d.) executed the calligraphy for it (SKSLXB 12: 8851). For a meticulous study of the textual discrepancies between the different versions of this inscription as well as the significance of these discrepancies, see YANG 1966.

Dugu Ji (Tang official biography in XTS162 16: 4990-93) was renowned for his administrative abilities and literary accomplishments. He was also famous for his efforts to nurture younger gifted poets and writers (see MCMULLEN 1973). Among those who benefited to different extents from his generous patronage was Liang Su 梁肅 (753-93), the compiler of the *Piling ji*. (Piling was Dugu Ji’s native place in present-day Wujin 武進 County in Jiangsu Province. In addition, it is an interesting coincidence that Tiantai Zhanran was also a Piling native.) Similarly successful in his official and literary careers, Liang Su is well known for his close ties to the Tiantai master Zhanran, whom he respected as a master.

authentic, this inscription will attest to the involvement of a monk named Zhanran in yet another campaign for Sengcan's prestige. Thus, as with Fang Guan's inscription, the authenticity of this inscription must be examined before its content is discussed.

In his postscript to the collection of Dugu Ji's works Liang Su remarks that Dugu Ji wrote an inscription for Chan master Jingzhi 鏡智 (i.e., Sengcan).³¹ This confirms that the inscription in question must be accepted as authentic, a fact also supported by Dugu Ji's close connection to the Shangusi, as is established by some of his extant poems.

Two, if not three, of Dugu Ji's extant poems are especially revealing for what they tell us about Dugu Ji's Shangusi connections.³² As sug-

Regarded as the most important lay disciple of this Tiantai master, Liang Su composed an inscription for him (the inscription is quoted in part in Zhanran's SGSZ biography; 740a3-9).

31. Liang Su believed that Dugu Ji wrote this inscription in order to expound the abstruse teachings of Buddhism (言釋氏之奧，於是有鏡智禪師碑; QTW518 6: 5261a2-3).
32. In one of his surviving poems entitled "Yi Kaiwu Chanshi wen xinfacidi ji Han Langzhong 詣開悟禪師問心法次第寄韓郎中 (To Vice-minister Han: A poem written after visiting Meditation Master Kaiwu for the "procedure of the mind-dharma"), Dugu Ji records his Buddhist understanding after a conversation with a monk called Kaiwu:

障深聞道晚，根鈍出塵難。濁劫相從慣，迷途自謂安。
得知身垢妄，始喜額珠完。欲識真如理，君嘗法味洲

(QTS247 8: 2771).

Deep-rooted karmic hindrances have made me hear the way late;
dull faculties hinder me from transcending the worldly realm.
We have accustomed ourselves to the dusty world.
Already lost on the way, we still congratulate ourselves on the
security of the way.
Only by realizing the illusion of the dust-like human body
did I come to appreciate the roundness of the forehead-pearl!
In order to recognize the principle of the *tathāgata*,
you just try the taste of dharma!

This Kaiwu must be the monk whom Dugu Ji mentions in his inscription as a monk of the Shengyesi who, coming from Lujiang in 772, joined Zhanran at the Shangusi before eventually becoming one of the six petitioners. If this is true, Dugu Ji must have written this poem either during his visit at, or after a trip to, the Shangusi, where he received from Kaiwu instructions in Buddhist teachings.

It is interesting to note that the title includes the expression *xinfa cidì* 心法次第 (the "procedure of the mind-dharma"), which also appears in the petition the four Chan monks headed by Shangusi Zhanran sent to Dugu Ji and Zhang Yanshang before it reached the court. This petition will be discussed below.

gested by their titles and contents, these poems were written during his stay at the Shangusi. One of them is of particular interest for us.³³ It reads as follows:

天書到法堂，朽質被榮光。自笑無功德，殊恩謬激揚。
還登建禮署，猶忝會稽章。佳句慚相及，稱仁豈易當。³⁴

As the heavenly edict arrived in the dharma-hall,
my decaying body basked in the glorious lights.
Deriding myself for the lack of merits and virtues,
I feel that this extraordinary imperial grace has been misplaced.
Having been promoted to the *jianli* Bureau,³⁵

33. In comparison with the poem itself, which is only 40 characters, the title of this poem is unusually long (twenty-eight characters!): “Muchun yu Shangusi shangfang yu enming jiaguan cifu chou Huangfu Shiyu jianhe zhi zuo 暮春於山谷寺上方遇恩命加官賜服酬皇甫侍御見賀之作 (Responding to Censor Huangfu’s congratulatory poem on the occasion in the late spring at the Shangusi, an exalted temple, when I was blessed by an imperial decree raising my rank and bestowing a robe on me).” In addition, for the sake of the discussion to be made below, it is important to note that the designation appearing in the title of Dugu Ji’s poem, “Huangfu Shiyu 皇甫侍御 (Censor Huangfu),” refers to Huangfu Zeng 皇甫曾 (?-787), the younger brother of Huangfu Ran 皇甫冉, who wrote a poem about a monk called Zhanran, the abbot of an important temple in Luoyang (see Section [IV]) (no historical record, including his one-line XTS entry [XTS202 18: 5771, rightly after his older brother’s XTS biography], gives the date of Huangfu Zeng’s death. The date given here is provided in FU 1987: 575-76). That Huangfu Zeng served as a Censor is corroborated by the following two sources. One is his JTS entry, which tells us that he was once appointed as an “Investigating Censor” (*jianchayushi* 監察御使). The other is Dugu Ji’s preface to the collection of Huangfu Ran’s works which Huangfu Zeng compiled shortly after his death. This preface also refers to Huangfu Zeng as Censor (*yushi* 御使, QTW 390 4: 3941a8-9).
34. QTS247 8: 2771.
35. The *jianlishu* (建禮署), or *jianli* (建禮), refers to the place where a *shangshulang* 尚書郎 (minister) performed his duties (LUO 2: 911). It also indicates the *libu* 禮部 (Bureau of Rites, MOROHASHI 4: 660). Thus, to be promoted to the *jianlishu* was to be appointed as a minister in the central government. According to Dugu Ji’s memorial to the court expressing gratitude for this honor, he was appointed *langzhong* 郎中 (director) of the *jianjiaosi* 檢校司 (Bureau of Inspection) (QTW 390 4: 3919a9). This is confirmed by his XTS entry, which records that during his tenure in Shuzhou Dugu Ji performed his duties so brilliantly that he was named the director of the Bureau of Inspection and the imperial court bestowed on him a *jinzi* 金紫 robe (XTS162 16: 4993). Given that he continued to act as the prefect of Shuzhou after this appointment, this new title was more or less honorific.

I further had my name listed in the “Chapter of Kuaiji.”³⁶
 Already shamed by being presented with your fabulous poems,
 How could I stand being called a “benevolent man”!

The poem was written in the aftermath of a remarkable honor Dugu Ji received from the court while serving in Shuzhou.³⁷ As this poem stands, it was in the Shangusi dharma-hall that Dugu Ji received the imperial edict which acknowledged his merits and abilities. This strikes the reader as extraordinary and suggests at least two things. One, Dugu Ji maintained an unusually close connection to the Shangusi. Two, during his time in Shuzhou, he visited the temple frequently and extensively enough that the imperial commissioners had to seek him out there to announce to him the imperial edict.

Another poem he wrote at and for the Shangusi corroborates these two points. Bearing a similarly long title,³⁸ this poem expresses Dugu Ji’s profound enthusiasm for this temple. It also demonstrates his ample knowledge of the Shangusi history and its related legends, among which were, of course, those about Sengcan and Li Chang:

梵宮香閣攀霞上，天柱孤峰指掌看。
 漢主馬蹤成蔓草³⁹，法王身相示空棺⁴⁰。
 雲扶踴塔青霄痺，松廡禪庭白日寒。
 不見戴逵心莫展，賴將新贈比琅玕。⁴¹

36. Meaning unknown.

37. See note 33.

38. The title of this poem reads, “Deng Shangusi Shangfang da Huangfu Shiyu woji quepei cheji zhi hou 登山谷寺上方答皇甫侍御臥疾闕陪車騎之後 (Mounting the exalted temple of the Shangusi, responding to Censor Huangfu’s poem titled ‘woji quepei cheji zhi hou 臥疾闕陪車騎之後 (Sickness prevented me from following you).”

39. In the QTS version, an interlinear note, added by Dugu Ji himself or by Liang Su, the compiler of his collection, or by one of the QTS compilers, follows this line of the poem: “A stone at the central place of the temple bears a mark, which was, according to a tradition, left by the horse of Han Wudi 漢武帝 (r. 141-88 BC) (寺中間石上有竅穴，古老相傳云漢武帝馬跡).”

40. An interlinear note follows, “The pagoda of the third patriarch of the Chan school was at this temple. In the Tianbao era, Administrative Aide Li Chang opened the coffin and cremated his golden relics. Li Chang collected the *śarīra* produced from the cremation and erected a pagoda to worship them (禪門第三祖燦大師遺塔在此坊。天寶中別駕李常開棺取金身荼毗，收舍利，重起塔供養).” Like the previous note, this interlinear note could also have been added by Dugu Ji himself, by Liang Su, or by a QTS compiler.

41. QTS247 8: 2776.

With the Buddhist Palace and fragrant pavilion reaching out for rosy clouds,
 Watch on the palms the lofty Mount Tianzhu.⁴²
 Grasses spread where the Han ruler's horse left its traces,
 The Dharma-king demonstrated his body and form in the empty coffin.
 The "rising pagoda" backed by clouds dwarfs the blue sky,
 The meditation court covered by pine trees makes a scorching sun look cold.
 Not seeing Dai Kui⁴³ depresses me;
 Fortunately, your new verses are comparable to the *langgan*⁴⁴ jades.

Dugu Ji's close ties to the Shangusi must have made him the obvious candidate when the Shangusi community began to search for a respectable personage to write an inscription for a stele newly erected to commemorate the conferral from the court of a title and name for Sengcan and his pagoda, which was so important for Chan Buddhism in general and the Shangusi in particular.

Having discussed its authenticity, we are now ready to look at the inscription more closely. After a brief description of Sengcan's life and teachings, Dugu Ji professes in the inscription his own respect for Sengcan and intense interest in the stories related to him. He tells us that after taking up his office in Shuzhou in 770 (i.e., Dali 大歷 5 [770]),⁴⁵ he "visited the old residence of Sengcan [at the Shangusi], exhaustively inspecting the old traces left by him and carefully investigating his stories."⁴⁶ All this suggests that Dugu Ji was much more than a witness

42. Tianzhufeng 天柱峰, literally "heaven-bolstering peak," is located close to Wangongshan, Sikongshan 司空山 (another mountain at which Sengcan and Huike were believed to have stayed).
43. (326?-96), a Buddhist lay believer good at playing the harp and sculpting Buddhist images (his biography in JS94 8: 2457-59).
44. A famous and beautiful type of jade.
45. As for his appointment to the post of the Shuzhou prefect, Dugu Ji says in the inscription, "five years after the emperor ascended to the throne, the year with the 'cyclical designation' *gengxu*, I became the prefect of this prefecture (皇帝即位後五年，歲次庚戌，及剖符是州; QTW390 4: 3973a7-8)." This is misleading, since it implies that he was appointed the Shuzhou prefect five years after "the emperor" (Daizong 代宗 [r. 762-79]) was enthroned; that is, in 766 (Dali 1). However, the cyclical designation corresponding to the year 766 was *bingwu* 丙午, not *gengxu*. According to his XTS biography, Dugu Ji began his political career at the end of the Tianbao period (742-56) (JTS190 16: 4990). He died in 777. Thus, he served between 756 and 777, during which time the only year with *gengxu* as its cyclical designation was 770 (Dali 5). Therefore, what Dugu Ji really means here was "the fifth year after the new reign era (i.e., Dali) was introduced."
46. "登禪師遺居，周覽陳跡，明徵故事 (QTW390 4: 3973a7-9)."

to or supporter of this campaign for Sengcan's prestige. He probably had a hand in orchestrating it.

After this, Dugu Ji relates Li Chang's story. He says in the inscription that the cremation of Sengcan's remains and the erection of a pagoda for him were commenced by Li Chang in the *gengxu* 庚戌 year of the Tianbao era (746).⁴⁷ Here, Li Chang was referred to as "Administrative Aide to the prefect, the Honorable Li Chang of Zhaojun, who was formerly Vice Prefect of the He'nan Commandery."⁴⁸ Mention is also made of two inscriptions dedicated to the memory of Sengcan, by Fang Guan and the renowned Sui writer Xue Daoheng 薛道衡 (538-?) respectively.⁴⁹ Dugu Ji suggests that he himself saw on Wangongshan the two stelæ bearing these two inscriptions. All these references to Li Chang and his connection to the Wangongshan pagoda for Sengcan precisely accord with what Fang Guan had already written in his inscription. By

47. Here the cyclical designation *bingxu* was written as *jingxu*, for the character *bing* was tabooed during the Tang (Tang Gaozu's 唐高祖 [r. 618-26] father had been named *bing* 苙; see CHEN Yuan 1997: 147). The year in the Tianbao era with the cyclic designation of *bingxu* falls in 746.
48. "別駕前河南少尹趙郡李公嘗 (QW390 4: 3973a9-11)." This presentation of Li Chang's identity accords with that made by Fang Guan in his inscription: "趙郡李常自河南少尹左遷同安郡別駕 (BLZ 8: 40)." The probability is high that Dugu Ji based himself on Fang Guan's inscription in describing Li Chang. On the other hand, the QW version of Dugu Ji's inscription has the character for Li Chang's name as Chang 嘗, rather than Chang 常, which is given by the *Piling ji* version (SKQS 1072: 229a6) and Fang Guan's inscription as well.
49. Both the *Sui shu* 隋書 and the *Bei shi* 北史 accord Xue Daoheng a biography (SS 5: 1405-13; BS 5: 1337-40), without giving the date of his death (in my forthcoming article I discuss this problem in connection with his alleged inscription for Sengcan). A composition included as an appendix (*fulu* 附錄) in the *Piling ji* not only mentions but also quotes from Xue Daoheng's inscription for Sengcan (SKQS 1072: 231b5, 231b8-10). This seems to support the saying that Xue Daoheng contributed an inscription to Sengcan. Apparently, this composition was not written by Dugu Ji. Judged by its title, "Shangusi Juejita chanmen disanzu Jingzhi Chanshi ta beiyinwen 山谷寺覺寂塔禪門第三祖鏡智禪師塔碑陰文 (A composition inscribed on the back side of the stele for the pagoda of of Jueji at the Shangusi temple, dedicated to [the memory of] Meditation Master Jingzhi, the Third Chan Patriarch)," it was inscribed on the back side of the stele, the right side of which bore Dugu Ji's inscription for Sengcan (according to the *yinyang* 陰陽 theory, anything bears two sides, with the right one called the *yangmian* 陽面, and the other called *yinmian* 陰面). As a general rule, a *beiyinwen* composition recorded the circumstances under which a memorial stele was erected, the corresponding inscription was composed, etc.

acknowledging Li Chang's leading role in cremating Sengcan's remains and erecting the pagoda for him, Dugu Ji understood the campaign then underway at Wangongshan to be a continuation of a movement initiated twenty-six years earlier at the same place. This becomes clearer when Dugu Ji implies that Fang Guan and Xue Daoheng were his predecessors in contributing inscriptions to Sengcan.

Dugu Ji's inscription continues by saying that although a pagoda was established for Sengcan and a prestigious official like Fang Guan already wrote an inscription for his pagoda, the "political turmoil," by which he referred to the An Lushan rebellion 安祿山之亂 (755-63), had prevented the government from carrying out the ceremony of "glorifying the worthy by conferring on him an appropriate title."⁵⁰ At this point, Dugu Ji describes a monk called Zhanran spearheading a petition to the Tang court for imperial recognition of Sengcan's status as a Chan patriarch:

長老比丘釋湛然誦經於靈塔之下，與澗松俱老。痛先師名氏未經邦國焉。與禪眾寺大律師釋澄俊，同寅協恭，亟以為請。會是歲嵩岳大比丘釋惠融至自廣陵，勝業寺大比丘釋開悟至自廬江，俱纂我禪師後七葉之遺訓。日相與歎，塔之不命，號之不崇。懼像法之本，根墜於地也。⁵¹

His Reverend, *Bhikṣu* Zhanran, has recited *sūtras* under the "numinous pagoda" (*lingta* 靈塔). His age has increased with the pine trees beside the ravine. He felt it a pity that the name of his "late patriarch" (*xianshi* 先師) has not been officially recognized by the government. Sharing a common sense of respect for Sengcan, Zhanran and the Great Preceptor Monk Chengjun 澄俊 (n.d.)⁵² of the Chan-zhongsì 禪眾寺 temple eagerly petitioned to the government [for the sanction of Sengcan]. It so happened that in that year the Great *Bhikṣu* Huirong 惠融 (n.d.) of Mount Song arrived from Guangling 廣陵⁵³ and the Great *Bhikṣu* Kaiwu 開悟 (n.d.) of the Shengyesi 勝業寺 temple arrived from Lujiang 廬江.⁵⁴ All together, they compiled the instructions left by the seven generations of Chan masters after the Chan Master [Sengcan]. Day after day, they lamented that Sengcan's pagoda had not yet been blessed with an official name and a lofty title

50. "而尊道之典，易名之禮，則朝廷方以多故，而未遑也 (QW390 4: 3973a 11-12)."
51. QW390 4: 3973a12-17.
52. Otherwise unknown.
53. Nothing else is known about this monk. Guangling corresponds to present-day Yangzhou 揚州 City in Jiangsu Province.
54. As noted above, Dugu Ji left a poem communicating his Buddhist understanding after a conversation with Kaiwu. Lujiang was in present-day Lujiang City of Anhui Province.

had not yet been conferred on Sengcan. They feared that the principle of the “Resemblance Teaching (*xiangfa* 象法)” would collapse to the ground.

Their fear led them to act. They embarked upon a new campaign for imperial recognition of Sengcan. A petition was sent to the court, proposing that an official title be given to honor Sengcan. Dugu Ji’s memorial inscription fails to report the content of this petition, for which we have to turn to a different source, an imperial edict approving Zhanran’s petition, which enables us to glimpse the content of the petition, how it was handed up to the court and how the court responded to it.⁵⁵

This edict begins with the following remark: “Zhang Yanshang 張延賞 (727-87),⁵⁶ the Inspector-in-general of Huainan, the Commander of the Great Area Command of Yangzhou concurrently the Censor-in-chief, submitted a memorial to the court to report a memorial sent from the Shuzhou prefect Dugu Ji, who, in turn, received a memorial from Monk Zhanran and other monks.”⁵⁷ From this we know that Zhanran and the other three monks initially filed the petition to the Shuzhou prefectural government before Dugu Ji, the Shuzhou prefect, transferred it to Zhang Yanshang, the head of the Yangzhou Area Command, whose jurisdiction covered the Shuzhou prefecture at the time. Eventually, it was in the name of Zhang Yanshang and in the form of a memorial that the petition was handed up to the central government.

55. The QTW includes a composition attributed to Dugu Ji. As indicated by its title, “Shuzhou Shangusi shangfangchanmen disanzu Can Dashi ta ming 舒州山谷寺上方禪門第三祖璨大師塔銘 (QW392 4: 3991a9, An inscription for the pagoda of the Third Patriarch, Great Master [Seng]can, which was located at the Shangusi, an exalted Chan temple in Shuzhou Prefecture),” this composition has been regarded as another inscription Dugu Ji wrote for Sengcan’s pagoda at the Shangusi. However, a reading of the text shows that it is actually an edict from the court approving the petition regarding Sengcan’s official title. As soon as we refer to the *Piling ji*, this mistake becomes more evident. In the *Piling ji*, this composition is attached to Dugu Ji’s inscription for Sengcan’s pagoda. It is therefore possible that the text of this edict was also inscribed on the memorial stele as proof of the imperial recognition of Sengcan’s patriarchal status in Chan Buddhism.
56. His biographies in the two Tang histories are found in JTS129 11: 3607-10, XTS127 14: 4444-47.
57. “淮南節度觀察史揚州大都督府長史兼御史大夫張延賞狀· 得舒州刺史獨孤及狀· 得僧湛然等狀 (QW392 4: 3991a10-11).”

The edict then summarizes the petition drafted by Zhanran. Notwithstanding its brevity, the summary attests to the deliberate way Zhanran and his partners had worked out their case. They declared that since the Great Master Sengcan had died approximately two hundred years previous, his “procedures of mind-dharma (*xinfa cidi* 心法次第)” had been gradually accepted and highly esteemed by the world. Among those who transmitted the teachings left by Sengcan were, they said, the late preeminent Chan masters Shenxiu and Master Puji 普寂 (651-739), who received posthumous titles from the court and upon whose pagodas the court conferred official names.⁵⁸ At this juncture, Zhanran and his fellow-monks brought to the imperial attention a disturbing contrast. While these two spiritual descendents of Sengcan were splendidly honored, their patriarch Sengcan, who “represents the ‘robe and bowl’ of the saintly and the worthy, the ford and bridge to the dharma-gate (為聖賢衣鉢，為法門津梁),” remains neglected, as the “place where his relics were buried (分骨之地)” has not yet been blessed with the “ceremony of renaming (易名之禮).” On the basis of this, they aired their fear that the “sacred ceremony of honoring the Way and respecting the teachings is still lacking.”⁵⁹

Zhanran and his partners pushed their case further by appealing to the filial piety the emperor was supposed to have cherished towards his deceased father. As the anniversary of the death of Suzong was approaching, they said in the petition, they respectfully begged that in accordance with the example set up in the Kaiyuan era when Puji was posthumously entitled Dazhao, a posthumous title be conferred on Sengcan and an official name be bestowed on his pagoda. They also suggested that seventeen monks be selected from several temples to keep

58. According to the SGSZ (756a29, 760c21-22), each of Shenxiu and Puji received a posthumous title from the court of Zhongzong 中宗 (r. 705-09) and Xuanzong (Datong 大通 [Great Penetrating] for Shenxiu and Dahui 大慧 [Great Wisdom] for Puji). But the SGSZ does not report that the government erected pagodas in their memory.

59. “尊道敬教·聖典猶闕 (QW392 4: 3991a11-15).” We shall see that it was after Shenxiu and Puji, two of his alleged successors, received titles that Sengcan was conferred a posthumous title by the imperial court. Interestingly enough, a parallel example is found in Japanese Tendai Buddhism. The Japanese imperial court did not confer a posthumous title of *Daishi* 大師 (Great Master) on Saichō 最澄 (767-822) until several years after it did so on Ennin 圓仁 (793-864), the second generation successor to Saichō (cf., REISCHAUER 1955: 33; FORTE forthcoming a).

the pagoda clean and honor the spirit of Sengcan. They declared their wish that the merit accumulated from these deeds be transferred to the sacred spirits of the late emperor.⁶⁰ Apparently, this struck a chord with the emperor. On the twenty-second day of the fourth month of Dali 7 (772), an imperial edict was issued to entitle Sengcan Jingzhi 鏡智 and name his pagoda Jueji 覺寂. The emperor also announced in the decree that seven monks of “great virtue” (*dadeseng* 大德僧) be assigned the duties of keeping the pagoda clean and worshipping the spirit of Sengcan.⁶¹ Thus concluded successfully this new phase of the Chan propagandistic project, which was so deliberately planned and enthusiastically pursued by several Chan believers, both cleric and lay.

After reviewing the 772 petition for Sengcan’s prestige, we are now ready to identify the monk called Zhanran as described in Dugu Ji’s inscription. One thing is clear. He is a Chan master, not only because of his designation of a Chanshi⁶² in Dugu Ji’s inscription or his temple affiliation (Shangusi’s alleged association with Sengcan made it by definition a Chan temple), but also because he referred to Sengcan as *xianshi*

60. QTW392 4: 3991a15-17.

61. QTW392 4: 3991a16-b3. It should be observed here that the names of Yuan Zai 元載 (?-777) and Wang Jin 王縉 (700-81) also appear in the edict approving Zhanran’s petition (QTW392 4: 3991b1-2). As the younger brother of the reputed poet Wang Wei 王維 (701-61), Wang Jin himself was a renowned bureaucrat and poet. The Wang brothers were known for their passion for Buddhism (their biographies in the two Tang histories in JTS118 14: 3416-18, XTS145 15: 4715-17). What is of particular interest of Wang Jin for us is that a secular friend of the monk-calligrapher Zhanran, Huangfu Ran, who is to be discussed in Section (IV), once worked under Wang Jin. Also a devout Buddhist believer, Yuan Zai was another leading minister of Daizong (his biographies in JTS118 10: 3409-16, XTS145 15: 4711-14). Given their enthusiasm for Buddhism (cf. WEINSTEIN 1987: 79-80), it seems safe to speculate that Wang Jin and Yuan Zai also contributed to the approval of the petition.

62. The term *chanshi* 禪師 (literally, a Buddhist monk practising meditation) did not necessarily indicate a monk affiliated with Chan Buddhism (the so-called Chanzong 禪宗). As a matter of fact, many Buddhist monks (e.g., some early Tiantai patriarchs like Huisi and Zhiyi), who were active much earlier than the formal appearance of Chan Buddhism as a monastic community with an independent lineage, were themselves classified as *chanshi* in traditional biographical accounts. This said, it should be noted that by the time Dugu Ji prepared this inscription for Sengcan’s pagoda, that is, in the 770s, the Chan tradition had so strongly emerged as a key player in Chinese Buddhism that the designation *chanshi* almost became its patent.

先師 (the “late master/patriarch”).⁶³ Moreover, this Zhanran, as depicted in Dugu Ji’s inscription, was a Northern Chan follower in the line of Shenxiu, Puji and Hongzheng 宏正 (n.d.).⁶⁴

Dugu Ji recounts in his inscription that Zhanran and the other three monks met to compile the instructions left by the seven generations of Chan masters after Sengcan.⁶⁵ The implication of this statement becomes clear when we read a passage in the inscription that outlines such a Chan lineage:

當時問道於禪師者，其淺者知有為法無非妄想，深者見佛性於言下，如燈之照物。朝為凡夫，夕為聖賢，雙峰大師道信其人也。其後信公

63. As a general rule, in the medieval Chinese Buddhist literature the word *shi* 師 could mean one’s monastic supervisor or a patriarch who was highly respected within a certain religious circle as a source of authority (in this sense, the person was called *zushi* 祖師 or *zongshi* 宗師). Accordingly, the term *xianshi* could denote one’s late master or a patriarch in one’s lineage. Since Sengcan and Shangusi Zhanran were separated too far in time to have been master and disciple, *xianshi* here must be understood as “late patriarch,” rather than “late master.”
64. Dugu Ji’s inscription presents Hongzheng as the most important disciple of Puji. However, the fact that he was not even mentioned in Puji’s epitaph calls this supposed status of Hongzheng into question (for a brief discussion of this monk, see MCRAE 1986: 68). Interestingly, most of the few information we know about this monk derives from that about his disciples, like Qiwei and Changchao (to be discussed below), in addition to Shangusi Zhanran and his three partners at the Shangusi, all of whom were also, very likely, Hongzheng’s disciples. In addition, the *Lidai fabao ji* 歷代法寶記 (Record of the dharma-jewel through the ages) mentions a Meditation Master Hongzheng 弘政 of the Shengshansi 聖善寺 in Luoyang as the master of an otherwise unknown monk called Tiwu 體無, who once engaged in a bitter debate with the Chan master Wuzhu 無住 (714-74) of the Chan sect known as Jingquan-Baotang 淨泉-保唐 branch (T2075.51.190b). We can assume that Hongzheng led a Chan group in rivalry with the Jingquan-Baotang sect, supposed the Hongzheng mentioned in the *Lidai fabao ji* can be identified as Hongzheng in Dugu Ji’s inscription, as is strongly suggested by DU (DU 1993: 197) and MCRAE as well (MCRAE did not make explicit reference to the *Lidai fabao ji* mention of Hongzheng, but since he identified Hongzheng’s temple-affiliation as Shengshansi and the *Lidai fabao ji* represents, as far as I know, the only source of claiming this temple-affiliation for Hongzheng, I assume that MCRAE was here referring to the *Lidai fabao ji* record and that he considered the two Hongzhengs as the same monk).
65. “俱纂我禪師後七葉之遺訓 (QW390 4: 3973a16).” DU understands this phrase differently in his 1993 book. According to him, this refers to the Northern Chan lineage from Bodhidharma, through Hongren and Shenxiu, to Puji (the seventh patriarch) (DU 1993: 198).

以教傳宏忍，忍公傳惠能神秀。能公退而老曹溪，其嗣無聞焉。秀公傳普寂，寂公之門徒萬人，升堂者六十有三。得自在慧者一，曰宏正。正公之廊廡，龍象又倍焉。或化嵩洛，或之荆吳。⁶⁶

Of those seeking the Way from the Chan Master (Sengcan) at the time, there were some who, with shallow accomplishments, still realized that none of the artificial dharmas was not illusion; there were others who, with profound understanding, were enlightened to Buddha-nature on hearing one word only – their enlightenment was brought about as spontaneously as a lamp lightens things up. One who was an ordinary person in the morning became a sage in the evening. The Great Master Daoxin 道信 (580-651) of Mount Shuangfeng was exactly such a person. Later, Reverend [Dao]xin transmitted his teachings to Hongren. Reverend [Hong]ren transmitted his teachings to Huineng 慧能 (638-713) and Shenxiu. Reverend [Hui]neng retired to and spent his late years at Caoxi. No one is known as his successor. Reverend [Shen]xiu transmitted the teachings to Puji. Reverend [Pu]ji had ten thousand disciples, sixty-three of whom ascended to his hall. One of them attained the “wisdom of self-existence.” His name was Hongzheng. The “Dragons and Elephants” (i.e., eminent monks) in Reverend [Hong]zheng’s hall were even twice as numerous as [those in the hall of Puji]. Some of them proselytized in the Songshan and Luoyang areas, while others went to the Jing and Wu areas.

The version of the Chan lineage recounted above runs as follows:

1) Sengcan, (2) Daoxin, (3) Hongren, (4) Shenxiu, (5) Puji, and (6) Hongzheng.

Therefore, in talking about the “seventh generation after our Chan Master [Sengcan] (我禪師後七葉),” these four monks including Zhanran identified themselves as a new generation following the sixth which was, according to Dugu Ji, led by Hongzheng. This assumption is supported by the following points.

First, it warrants particular note that Dugu Ji’s inscription, by referring to Hongzheng as Puji’s only disciple who has attained the “wisdom of self-existence (*jizaihui* 自在慧),” singles him out as the most accomplished disciple of (and therefore presumably the only qualified successor to) Puji. This suggested that of all the disciples of Puji Hongzheng stood out as the most respectable one in the eyes of Zhanran and the other three monks, who requested Dugu Ji to compose this inscription.

Second, Dugu Ji’s inscription, commissioned by the Shangusi community as represented by those four monks, ends this Chan lineage with Hongzheng. This suggests Hongzheng’s close ties to the four principal

66. QTW390 4: 3973b10-16.

sponsors of this inscription. The likelihood is high that these four monks respected Hongzheng as their master.

Third, Dugu Ji ends this passage with the remark that some of Hongzheng's disciples travelled in the Songshan-Luoyang area, Jingzhou and Wujun. This corresponds to the fact that Huirong, a monk based on Songshan, arrived at the Shangusi from Kuangling, a part of Wu, where he had stayed probably for some religious activities and that Kaiwu of the Shenyesei joined Zhanran at Wangongshan from Lujiang, which was not too far from Jingzhou. The simultaneous arrival at the Shangusi of three Chan masters might not have been coincidental.⁶⁷ Rather, it must have been brought about by a pre-planned agenda. A kind of dharma-brotherhood must have existed among them.

Finally, although no extant epitaph for Hongzheng survives, two epitaphs still exist for two of his disciples, Qiwei 契微 (720-81) and Changchao 常超 (705-63).⁶⁸ Judging by their dates, these two disciples of Hongzheng must have been contemporaries of the four monks dwelling at the Shangusi. At least in terms of time, then, a disciple-master relationship would have been possible between them and Hongzheng.

Now we have to consider the relationship between the two Zhanrans mentioned by Dugu Ji and Fang Guan. Reading Fang Guan and Dugu Ji's inscriptions together, I believe that the two Zhanrans were one and the same monk. Fang Guan presented his Zhanran as a care-taker of Sengcan's pagoda, while Dugu Ji's Zhanran had recited *sūtras* beside Sengcan's pagoda for years, which means that this Zhanran was also responsible for maintaining the pagoda. Furthermore, Fang Guan's Zhanran served as the Shangusi *duweina*. The status of this Zhanran was also compatible with that of Dugu Ji's Zhanran, who initiated in the 770s a new bid for Sengcan's prominence.⁶⁹ Obviously, a monk who had both the will and ability to steer such an important petition could not have been an insignificant person. For these two reasons, the two Zhanrans known to and befriended by Fang Guan and Dugu Ji must be

67. As is made clear by a passage discussed above, the three monks joined Zhanran at the Shangusi in the same year (i.e., 772).

68. The two epitaphs are preserved in QTW501 5: 5105-06, 316 4: 3210-11; cf. MCRAE 1986: 68, 296.

69. The role played by Zhanran in the campaign is also corroborated by the edict approving the petition. As we have seen before, the edict refers to the petition as submitted by "Monk Zhanran and others" (*Seng Zhanran deng 僧湛然等*).

taken as the same monk affiliated with the Shangusi at Wangongshan in Shuzhou.

Combining all the relevant information provided by Fang Guan and Dugu Ji's inscriptions, we can make the following conclusions about the identity of this monk called Zhanran. Firstly, sometime after 746 he entered Wangongshan in Shuzhou where he affiliated himself with the Shangusi, of which he had been made *duweina* no later than 762. Secondly, although we have no idea whether he was involved in the building of the Wangongshan pagoda for Sengcan, it is certain that he became a care-taker of the pagoda after its completion sometime before 762. Thirdly, he had dwelt at the Shangusi temple at least from 762 to 772, when he began to direct a new campaign to augment the prestige of Sengcan, which resulted in imperial conferment of a title on Sengcan and a name on his Wangongshan pagoda. Fourthly, given his leading role in this Chan campaign and that he had been one of the three leaders of the Shangusi as early as 762, he must have assumed the supreme leadership of the temple by 772. Finally, this Zhanran, at least by 772, had come to identify himself as a second generation disciple of Puji, who was recognized as the seventh patriarch by most of the Northern Chan followers. In a word, we can say that this Zhanran was a Chan master who, long affiliated with the Shangusi, distinguished himself as a prestigious Northern Chan leader, mainly through his efforts to glorify the obscure third Chan patriarch Sengcan.

Then, Can this Zhanran be identified with Tiantai Zhanran? On the side of Tiantai scholars, Tajima is the only one, as far as I know, who has suggested that the monk Zhanran participating in the 772 campaign for Sengcan's prestige was different from Tiantai Zhanran.⁷⁰ Unfortunately, his reason for this differentiation is weak and has been easily coun-

70. HIBI and PENKOWER, who are respectively the Japanese and western scholar who provides a most exhaustive study of Tiantai Zhan, both identify Shangusi Zhanran as Tiantai Zhanran (HIBI 1975:73-74; PENKOWER 1993: 100-02). Both HIBI and PENKOWER believe that Tiantai Zhanran participated in the erection of a pagoda at Wangongshan for Sengcan in 770. Three things are problematic about this. First and foremost is, of course, to equate Shangusi Zhanran with Tiantai Zhanran. Second, the event in question here is not the erection of a pagoda for Sengcan, which had been completed many years before by Li Chang, but the submission of a petition to the court asking for the official recognition of Sengcan as a Chan patriarch. Finally, the event in question took place in 772, rather than in 770 when Dugu Ji had just assumed his office in the Shuzhou prefecture.

tered.⁷¹ Among Chan scholars, Du identifies Shangusi Zhanran as Tiantai Zhanran without any hesitation.⁷² While Yanagida seems less certain about the identity of this Shangusi Zhanran, Suzuki understands Shangusi Zhanran as distinct from Tiantai Zhanran although he does not give his reason for making this distinction.⁷³

71. Sometime around 770, Tiantai Zhanran is known to have travelled to Lanling 蘭陵 in modern-day Shandong Province. He was also believed to have made a pilgrimage to Mount Wutai (on the northeastern border of present-day Shanxi Province) in 774. On the basis of this itinerary, Tajima argued that a trip by Tiantai Zhanran to Wangongshan in modern-day Taihu 太湖 District of Anhui Province would have made the route too circuitous (Lanling in Shandong → Taihu in Anhui → Wutaishan in Shanxi) to sound credible (TAJIMA 1937). This reasoning is insufficient. As PENKOWER rightly points out, “since the precise date of Zhanran’s visit to Shandong is not known, this alone is insufficient to disavow Zhanran’s patronage of the pagoda” (PENKOWER 1993: 102). Furthermore, I argued in my 1998 *Asia Major* article and my forthcoming book that reports of Zhanran’s 774 trip to Wutaishan probably have no basis in fact. In my opinion, whereas TAJIMA is right in distinguishing Shangusi Zhanran from Tiantai Zhanran, his argument is seriously marred by the failure to trace the 772 campaign back to the earlier movement for the same purpose. This failure has prevented him from recognizing that at least 10 years earlier (762) the same Zhanran had already been made the *duweina* of the Shangusi, apparently a Chan temple.

72. DU 1993: 197, 622.

73. In the main text of his 1967 masterpiece, the *Shoki zenshū shisho no kenkyū* 初期禪宗史書の研究 (Study in the texts of early Chan), YANAGIDA says nothing about the relationship (or lack thereof) between Shangusi Zhanran and Tiantai Zhanran (see particularly YANAGIDA 1967: 324-25). However, the index of the same book contains two separate entries, for Tiantai Zhanran, and the *duweina* Zhanran (*tōina* Tannen 都維那湛然) respectively, the latter being a care-taker of Sengcan’s Wangongshan pagoda. This suggests that he takes Shangusi Zhanran and Tiantai Zhanran to be two different monks. But Yanagida says nothing about the identity of the monk Zhanran steering the 770s bid for Sengcan’s prestige. In the main text itself, no effort is made to connect the *duweina* Zhanran (a care-taker of Sengcan’s pagoda) with Shangusi Zhanran (the leader of the 770s campaign). Neither the indexical entry for Tiantai Zhanran nor that for the *duweina* Zhanran covers the Zhanran in the 770s campaign, which means that Yanagida does not take the third Zhanran (the leader of the 770s campaign) as either Tiantai Zhanran or Zhanran the protector of Sengcan’s pagoda.

Not only does SUZUKI provide separate indexical entries for Shangusi Zhanran and Tiantai Zhanran, the indexical entry he provides for Shangusi Zhanran also covers the *duweina* Zhanran (see the index attached to his 1985 book), suggesting that SUZUKI distinguishes Shangusi Zhanran from Tiantai Zhanran on the one hand and on the other, links the former with the monk with the same name whom Fang Guan in 762 referred to as a *duweina*.

What we know about Shangusi Zhanran makes it impossible to identify him with Tiantai Zhanran.⁷⁴ First of all, we cannot simply identify Tiantai Zhanran with a monk who so unambiguously identified himself with the Northern Chan tradition and who had served the interest of Chan Buddhism so well by ardently and skillfully promoting the fame of its third patriarch. Secondly, for a relatively long period one Zhanran was more or less permanently based at the Shangusi, while the other was constantly on the road from place to place.

We have seen that no later than 762 when Fang Guan wrote his memorial inscription for the Shangusi pagoda Shangusi Zhanran had been appointed as the Shangusi *duweina*, one of whose responsibilities was to protect and maintain the Sengcan pagoda newly established near the temple. One sentence in Dugu Ji's inscription⁷⁵ impresses us that he had performed his duty faithfully and continuously at least until 772 when he, along with three other Chan monks, launched the campaign for imperial recognition of Sengcan. This means that in all likelihood he stayed at the Shangusi for at least one decade, from 762 to 772.

Tiantai Zhanran, on the other hand, was forced into a vagrant life after 755 when the An Lushan Rebellion broke out, as is confessed by himself in the preface to his *Delineations of the Mohe zhiguan* (hereafter "*Delineations*"): ⁷⁶

昔天寶十四年，臨安私記。元年建巳，國清再書。刊校未周，眾已潛寫。屬海隅喪亂，法侶星移，或將入潭衡，或持往吳楚。寶應於浦陽重刊，雖不免脫漏，稍堪自軌。⁷⁷

In the past, in Tianbao 14 (755), I made some private notes [preparing for the composition of the *Delineations*] in Lin'an. In the *jianyi* (fourth) month of [Zhide 至德 1 (756)], I rewrote the text at the Guoqingsi. While I had not finished proof-reading the text, my disciples had begun to copy it secretly. When war broke out in the coastal area, dharma-brothers scattered like stars. Some of them brought

74. Shangusi Zhanran was known as the Shangusi *duweina* by 762 when Tiantai Zhanran was 52. In his 773 inscription Dugu Ji addresses Zhanran as "*zhanglao* 長老," a term used for a monk highly respected for his age and virtue. Sometimes the term also refers to the abbot of a temple; if this is true, Zhanran had by that time assumed the supreme leadership of this important temple. This image of Shangusi Zhanran proves that he and Tiantai Zhanran, who was 63 in 773 and died nine years later, were indeed near contemporaries.

75. This sentence is found in QTW390 4: 3973a13: 長老比丘釋湛然誦經於靈塔之下，與澗松俱老。

76. *Mohe zhiguan kewen* 摩訶止觀科文, ZZ1.43.3-4.

77. ZZ1.43.3.254.

their copies of the text into Tan and Heng, while others carried theirs to Wu and Chu. In the Baoying 寶應 era (762), I began to re-collate the text in Puyang. Although I was not able to free it from omissions, the text could be used to regulate other copies.

Zhanran was with his teacher Xuanlang 玄朗 (673-755)⁷⁸ when the latter was dying in 754. Sometime after Xuanlang died in 755, Zhanran went to Lin'an 臨安 (in present-day Hangzhou 杭州 City of Zhejiang Province) where he completed a draft of the *Delineations*. Staying in Lin'an for barely one year, he had to flee to the Guoqingsi 國清寺 in Zhejiang in 756. Zhanran was back in Puyang 浦陽⁷⁹ again in 762 to prepare a more polished version of the *Delineations*. Although we have no idea as to Zhanran's whereabouts from 756 to 762,⁸⁰ a sentence in his biography in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* impresses us that he stayed in the coastal area during this period.⁸¹

Furthermore, as is clear from Liang Su's preface to the *Abridgement of the Weimojing [xuan]shu* by Zhanran,⁸² which is dated 764 at Folong, Zhanran returned to Folong from his hometown in Piling in the summer of 764.⁸³ He stayed at Folong until around 766 when he completed the *Inquiry into the essentials of the Zhiguan fuxing [chuanhong jue]*

78. The eighth Tiantai patriarch, whose SGSZ biography is found in 875b26-876a17.

79. In present-day Pujiang 浦江 District of Zhejiang Province.

80. Understanding the phrase 或將入潭衡，或持往吳楚 as referring to Zhanran, HIBI, whom PENKOWER follows, believes that Zhanran was driven from Tan 潭 (Changsha 長沙), Heng 衡 (衡陽), to Wu 吳 (Suzhou in Jiangsu Province) and Chu 楚 (Huai'an 淮安 District in Jiangsu) (HIBI 1975: 80, PENKOWER 1993: 76-77). I am afraid that the context does not allow such a reading. It must be noted that this phrase follows another one which reads, 法侶星移. The phrase, 或將入潭衡，或持往吳楚, refers to the "dharma-brothers" (*falu* 法侶, which in the context indicates Zhanran's disciples), some of whom went to Tan and Heng, others moving to Wu and Chu. While it might be possible that Zhanran himself also went to one, two, three or all of these four areas during this period, the text itself here just cannot be read the way Hibi has done.

81. The sentence in question is found in T2061.50.739b28: 挈密藏獨運於東南, which means "Zhanran kept moving alone around the southeastern areas with some secret texts."

82. *Weimojing lueshu* 維摩經略疏, T no. 1778, vol. 38; ZZ1.28.3-4. This is an abridged version of Zhiyi's commentary on the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*, the *Weimojing xuanshu* 維摩經玄疏 (T no. 1777, vol. 38).

83. 疏成之歲，歲在甲辰，吾師自晉陵歸於佛隴之夏也 (ZZ1.28.3.387b). Jinling 晉陵 was Piling (cf. XIE 1961: 704), Tiantai Zhanran's hometown.

(hereafter *Essentials*).⁸⁴ Other sources suggest that Zhanran prolonged his stay at Folong at least until 768.⁸⁵

Thus, it is clear that Tiantai Zhanran travelled frequently during the decade from 755 to 768. What is more important is that none of the places in which he is known to have taken refuge during that period falls in the neighborhood of Wangongshan, where Shangusi Zhanran found relatively stable shelter from the social turmoil which was then sweeping over most of Tang China.

Consequently, we should not confuse Shangusi Zhanran who from the 750s to the 770s committed himself to campaigning for Sengcan's prestige with the Tiantai master Zhanran. They were contemporaries, but one lived at Wangongshan in present-day Anhui Province, whereas the other was mainly confined to the southeastern coastal area.

Further proof against the identification of Shangusi Zhanran with his Tiantai homonymous contemporary is evidence showing that Shangusi Zhanran lived as late as 796, when he participated in an officially con-

84. *Zhiguan fuxing souyaoji* 止觀輔行搜要記, ZZ 2.4.3. Since this text was signed at Folong, it was certainly finished there. The problem is determining when it was completed. Since Zhanran states in his preface that he had already begun to make some embellishments on the text during his sojourn in his hometown (ZZ2.4.3. 110a), the text was almost finished before he returned to Folong. Thus, its formal completion must have occurred shortly after he returned to Folong in the summer of 764. Furthermore, as an abridgement of the *Delineations*, the *Essentials* was, in all likelihood, finished after the *Delineations*, whose final version appeared around 765 (Yongtai 永泰 1), as is confirmed by Pumen's 普門 (a.k.a. Pumenzi 普門子, 709-92) preface, which is dated to that year (T1912.46.141b7). That the *Essentials* was finished after 765 but not too long after 764 tends to put its completion at some time around 766 (for a more detailed discussion of when and where the *Essentials* was composed, see PENKOWER 1993: 86).

85. The FZTJ relates that in Dali 3 (768) Zhanran was at Folong teaching cessation and contemplation to Daosui 道邃 (n.d.) (荊溪禪師於天台佛瀧為道邃法師說止觀法門; 378c12-13). Daosui's FZTJ biography confirms Daosui's association with Zhanran in Folong during the Dali era (190a4-5). Daosui's SGSZ entry specifies that during this period Zhanran entrusted to Daosui the *Delineations* (大曆中湛然師委付止觀輔行記; 891a10-11). Thus, it is certain that Zhanran was preaching for Daosui (and perhaps also other disciples) the *Delineations* at Folong in 768. Given its great length (40 *juan*), I assume that it would have taken Zhanran at least a couple of years to transmit the *Delineations* to Daosui. Therefore, in all probability, Zhanran continued to stay at Folong from 766 until at least 768 to instruct his main disciple Daosui in the doctrine of *zhiguan* (cf. PENKOWER 1993: 98, 109).

vened Chan council, in which he debated at least one southern Chan representative. Tiantai Zhanran by contrast lived only until 782.

III. *The Northern Chan Master Zhanran and the 796 National Chan Controversy*

In his epitaph for the Chan adept Dayi 大義 (746-818),⁸⁶ who was a disciple of Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709-88),⁸⁷ the Tang writer Wei Chuhou 韋處厚 (773-828)⁸⁸ mentions that a monk called Zhanran debated Dayi in a controversy held at the palace monastery Shenlongsi 神龍寺.⁸⁹ Wei Chuhou does not date this controversy. However, his brief description of the controversy and the historical context he provides for it, coupled with other relevant sources, enable us to identify it with a famous and important Chan council at the end of the eighth century. Let us look first at how Wei Chuhou described the historical circumstance under which this debate involving both Dayi and Zhanran took place:

孝文皇帝既清大難，齋心無為。建中尉以總武旅，名功德以統緇黃。大師來之夕也，右神策護軍霍公見夢焉。翌日訪之於慈恩寺，且與孫合。遂表闡為內道場供奉大德。⁹⁰

Having overcome the "great disaster," Emperor Xiaowen (i.e., Dezong 唐德宗 [r. 779-805])⁹¹ began to lodge his mind in "no-action." He established the [system

86. For his many years of residence at Ehushan 鵝湖山 in Xinzhou 信州 prefecture (in present-day Jiangxi Province), Dayi was known as "Ehu Dayi 鵝湖大義." His biography in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (Record of the lamp-transmission, [compiled in] the Jingde era [1004-07], T no. 2076, vol. 51) is found in 253a1-23. In an inscription the Tang bureaucrat Li Chaozheng 李朝正 (n.d.) wrote to celebrate the re-erection of a memorial stele for Bodhidharma, Dayi was recognized as the sole successor to Mazu Daoyi (QTW998 10: 10333a-b; cf. YANAGIDA 1967: 394-95).
87. Mazu Daoyi, based in present-day Jiangxi Province, was a chief representative of Southern Chan in the second generation after Huineng. His SGSZ and *Jingde chuandenglu* biographies are found in 766a-c and 245c-246c respectively.
88. Wei Chuhou, who served several years as a chief minister for Wenzong 文宗 (r. 1850-61), was also considered a remarkable writer by his peers. His extant prose are collected in *juan* 715 of the QTW (8: 7342-54).
89. Entitled "Xingfusi neidaochang gongfeng dade Dayi Chanshi beiming 興福寺內道場供奉大德大義禪師碑銘" (An inscription for the stele dedicated to Chan Master Dayi of Xingfusi Monastery, who was Great Virtue, the court chaplain of the Palace Chapel), this epitaph is found in QTW715 8: 7352-54.
90. QTW715 8: 7353a4-7.
91. Not unlike his predecessors Taizong 唐太宗 (r. 626-49) and Xuanzong, Dezong ended up a devout patron of Buddhism although at the outset of his reign he

of] “Palace Commandant-protector” (*zhongwei*) to control the armaments, while appointing men with merit and virtue to lead Buddhist and Daoist priests.⁹² On the night when the Great Master [Dayi] arrived at the capital, the Honorable Huo, who was the Palace Commandant-protector of the Right Army of Inspired Strategy (*you shenche hujun*), saw him in the dream. The next day, visiting him at the Ciensi 慈恩寺 temple, the Honorable Huo found that [Dayi] was exactly what he had seen in the dream. Thus, he submitted a memorial to the court, recommending him to be the Great Virtue, the “court chaplain” of the palace monastery.

The “Great Disaster” mentioned here refers to the rebellion that some military governors waged in 781 against the central government. The war came to an end in 786 with the death of the usurper Li Xilie 李希烈 (?-786).⁹³ After the rebellion, Dezhong became increasingly suspicious of his military governors, which resulted in his over-reliance on eunuchs, especially in military matters. The biography of two eunuchs in the *Jiu Tangshu*⁹⁴ reports that in the sixth month of Zhenyuan 貞元 12 (796) Dezhong introduced a new system, which Wei Chuhou here refers to as “Palace Commandant-protector” (*zhongwei* 中尉), to control the Palace Armies. The new system gave an important role to eunuchs. Among the four newly-appointed commanders of the Palace Armies, three were eunuchs:

貞元十二年六月，特立護軍中尉兩員，中護軍兩員，以率禁軍。乃以文場為左神策護軍中尉，仙鳴為右神策護軍中尉，右神威軍使張尚進為右神策中護軍，內謁者監焦希望為左神策中護軍，自文場等始也。⁹⁵

sought to reduce the wealth of the great monasteries. Weinstein attributes Dezhong’s enthusiasm for Buddhism to, first, “his failure to bring the military governors to heel,” and the “ascendancy, particularly in military affairs, after 784 of eunuchs like Tou Wanch’ang (*pinyin*, Dou Wenchang) and Huo Hsien-ming (*pinyin*, Huo Xianming), who were themselves devout Buddhists” (WEINSTEIN 1987: 95).

92. In the first years of his reign Dezhong abolished the office of *gongdeshi* 功德使 (Commissioners of Good Works), which was in charge of administrating the Buddhist and Daoist communities. However, he revived the office in 788 by appointing three *gongdeshi*, the first two for Chang’an and the third for Luoyang. The posts were often occupied by eunuch-generals, who sought the positions not only out of religious piety but also for their potential lucrativeness (WEINSTEIN 1987: 95-96).
93. His biographies are found in JTS145 12: 3943-45, XTS225 20: 6437-41.
94. The two eunuchs in question are Dou Wenchang 竇文場 (n.d.) and Huo Xianming 霍仙鳴 (?-798). Their joint biography is found in JTS184 15: 4766-67, XTS207 19: 5866-67.
95. JTS134 15: 4766.

In the sixth month of Zhenyuan 12 (796), Dezong purposefully established two “Palace Commandant-protectors” (*hujun zhongwei*), and two “Palace Protectors” (*zhonghujun*), in order to command Palace Armies. He appointed [Dou] Wenchang as the Palace Commandant-protector of the Left Army of Inspired Strategy (*zuo shenche hujun zhongwei*), [Huo] Xianming as the Palace Commandant-protector of the Right Army of Inspired Strategy (*you shenche hujun*), Zhang Shangjing, who was the Commander of the Right Army of Inspired Awesomeness (*you shenweijunshi*), as the Palace Protector of the Right Army of Inspired Strategy (*you shenche zhonghujun*), and Jiao Xiwang, the head of the Palace Receptionists (*neiyezhe jian*), as the Palace Protector of the Left Army of Inspired Strategy (*you shenche zhonghujun*). This system began with [Dou] Wenchang and these other three persons.

Thus, the “Honorable Huo (Huogong 霍公)” to whom Wei Chuhou refers in the epitaph as one of Dayi’s patrons in Chang’an turns out to be the eunuch Huo Xianming, a Buddhist devotee who was appointed in 796 to the powerful post of the “Palace Commandant-protector of the Right Army of Inspired Strategy.”⁹⁶

After thus providing the historical background for Dayi’s arrival in Chang’an and his subsequent participation in the Shenlongsi Controversy, Wei Chuhou relates the close relationship Dayi established with the Crown Prince (*chujun* 儲君), who was to rule the Tang Empire briefly (a mere eight months) as Tang Shunzong 唐順宗 (r. 805). The future Shunzong was also a devout Buddhist believer.⁹⁷ Wei Chuhou’s inscription confirms his interest in some fundamental Buddhist doctrines, such as buddha-nature. According to Wei Chuhou, he once asked a Chan master called Shicha 師刹 (n.d.)⁹⁸ about two lines in a Buddhist text concerning the possibility of seeing one’s buddha-nature and attain-

96. It is reported in Huo Xianming’s biographies in the two Tang histories that when he became ill in 796, shortly after he was posted to the new position in the Palace Armies, Dezong ordered all Buddhist temples in the capital to perform Buddhist ceremonies for his recovery to health (JTS134 15: 4766, XTS207 19: 5867; cf. WEINSTEIN 1987: 183).

97. WEINSTEIN 1987: 99. Shunzong perhaps made an exception in the imperial China by not ascending to the throne until a quarter of century after he was made the “Crown Prince” in Dali 14 (779) (XTS7 1: 205) or Jianzhong 建中 1 (780, JTS 14 2: 405).

98. Dayi’s *Jingde chuandenglü* entry has this monk as Shili 師利 (T2076.51. 253a17).

ing buddhahood.⁹⁹ It seems that Shicha's answer did not impress the Crown Prince.¹⁰⁰ Later, he went to Dayi with the same question. Dayi's answer, according to Wei Chuhou, convinced him of the superiority of Dayi's Buddhist understanding. Presenting a stark contrast to Shicha, who assumed a negative view on the possibility of attaining buddhahood, Dayi advocated a positive and active pursuit of buddhahood. He assured the future Shunzong, "Buddha-nature has nothing to do with seeing or not seeing. If one wants to see the moon in the water, why does he not catch it?"¹⁰¹ The future Shunzong reportedly approved this understanding. Furthermore, when he asked what buddha-nature was, Dayi gave him an answer, as is characteristic of Chan, throwing the question back to the questioner, "it is not different from what Your Majesty asked."¹⁰² Wei Chuhou reports that this had caused their minds to accord silently on the "mysterious key," with one word tying the two together.¹⁰³

Only after these two episodes related to his association with Huo Xianming and the Crown Prince was Dayi presented as a participant in the controversy. Thus, Dayi did not arrive at the capital until Dezong introduced in 796 the new military system following the crackdown of the 780s rebellion, and he did not take part in the controversy until he established connections to two of his most powerful patrons, the eunuch Huo Xianming and the Crown Prince. Furthermore, Huo Xianming here was referred to by the official title that he gained in the sixth month of 796. All this proves that the controversy occurred sometime after the sixth month of 796. Now, let us look at how Dayi came to debate a Dharma-master called Zhanran:

後入內神龍寺法會，眾僧有湛然法師者，登座云，“佛道遐險，經劫無量。南鄙之人，欺給後學。”大師曰，“彼自迷性，盲者可咎白日耶？”順宗顧謂諸王曰，“彼不論至道，其僞斥下。”數旬而卒。¹⁰⁴

99. These two lines are “大地普眾生，見性成佛道 (QW715 8: 7353a8-9; All the sentient beings on the earth / [pursue] the way of seeing the nature and attaining buddhahood).”
100. Shicha's answer is as follows, “佛猶如水中月，可見不可取 (QW715 8: 7353a9; Buddhahood is like the moon in water. It is visible but unattainable).”
101. “佛性非見，必見水中月，何不攬取 (QW715 8: 7353a9-10).”
102. “不離殿下所問 (QW715 8: 7353a10-11).”
103. “默契玄關，一言即和 (QW715 8: 7353a11).”
104. QW715 8: 7353a11-14.

Later, [Dayi] participated in a dharma-assembly at the palace monastery Shenlongsi. Among the monks was a dharma-master called Zhanran, who, ascending to the platform, said, "The way to buddhahood is far and arduous. One has to undergo innumerable *kalpas* [before attaining buddhahood]. People from the southern border have cheated and harmed the practitioners of later generations." The Great Master (Dayi) said, "They themselves lost track of their own [buddha-]nature. How could the blind blame the bright sun?" The [future] Emperor Shunzong turned around and looked at other princes present, saying, "That monk does not understand the ultimate truth. Have [him and] his companions removed." Several ten days later, [Zhanran] died.

Four things are either explicitly stated or implicitly implied in Wei Chuhou's description of this controversy. First of all, it was at the palace (內) monastery Shenlongsi (神龍寺) that the controversy was held. Second of all, the future Shunzong and other princes presented themselves at this controversy. Given that he made, either of his own accord or by request, judgment on Zhanran's Buddhist understanding and that he ordered Zhanran and his disciples ousted from the council, the future emperor actually acted as an arbiter of this Shenlongsi controversy. Thirdly, the Crown Prince's presence and his active role in the controversy attest to its unusual importance. Finally, in view of Dayi's status as a chief disciple of Mazu Daoyi and the accusation Zhanran raised against the Southern Chan school as a whole, we assume that this Shenlongsi controversy was triggered by the opposition between the Northern and Southern Chan traditions.¹⁰⁵ While the first three points are rather clear, we have to elaborate on the fourth which will prove important in determining this Zhanran's religious affiliation.

105. As for the theme of this debate, Zongmi unambiguously tells us that the council was dominated by the issue of Chan lineage and the fundamentals of Chan doctrines (presumably the sudden-gradual debate). In his massive sectarian historico-biographical work, the FZTJ, the Song Tiantai monastic historiographer Zhipan 志磐 (n.d.) asserts that the controversy was over Chan lineage (see below). It seems that some scholars, on the other hand, understand the central theme debated by Zhanran and Dayi at the Shenlongsi to have been buddha-nature. This understanding has led DU to believe that the monk Zhanran involved in this controversy was Tiantai Zhanran, whose last work *Jin'gangbei* 金剛鉞 (T. no. 1932, the Diamond Scalpel) was devoted to the issue of Buddha-nature (DU 1993: 248). This conclusion cannot be drawn from Wei Chuhou's inscription, which presents the issue of buddha-nature as the topic for the conversations the future Shunzong had first with Shicha and then with Dayi. It is Wei Chuhou's understanding that, beyond determining Dayi's participation, the conversations on buddha-nature between Shunzong, Dayi and Shicha preceded and had nothing to do with the controversy.

As presented by Wei Chuhou's inscription, Zhanran referred to his opponents by a general designation, *nanbi zhi ren* 南鄙之人: The term *nanbi* 南鄙, which literally means "regions close to the southern border," seemed to have pointed to Huineng and Mazu, as one was born and raised in present-day Guangdong 廣東 Province and the other was active in the Jiangxi 江西 area. However, it seems that the term *nanbi zhi ren* as used by Zhanran here has more far-reaching implication. It might be an over-simplification to understand the Southern and Northern Chan traditions in exclusive regional terms. However, it is true that the headquarters of the Northern Chan was in the North (mainly concentrated around the two capitals, Chang'an and Luoyang), while most of the Southern Chan followers, like Huineng (the monk whom they claimed as patriarch), came from Southern China. If this understanding is not too far from the truth, the appellation *nanbi zhi ren*, as used by Zhanran in the context, must have referred to the Southern Chan tradition as a whole, which challenged the orthodox religious authority in the north.

Conventionally, the alleged opposition between Southern and Northern Chan has been characterized and understood in terms of the contradiction between "sudden" (頓) and "gradual" (漸) teachings. Research done by some Chan scholars has devastated this conventional understanding.¹⁰⁶ It is doubtful that any Chan faction was ever known to promulgate, at least publicly, the gradual teachings. On the contrary, almost all Chan sects made every effort to identify themselves with the sudden teachings, in one form or another. To accuse a rival sect of advocating "gradual teachings" must be viewed, to a great degree, as a polemic instrument. In view of this, Wei Chuhou's depiction of Zhanran, implying as it does that Zhanran openly attacked Dayi's tradition on the grounds that it advocated "sudden" teachings, cannot be accepted uncritically. However, since Zhanran referred to Dayi and his groups with the derogatory appellation of "nanbi zhi ren," we can at least believe that Zhanran identified himself with a Chan tradition which was based, very likely, in the north, in opposition to the Mazu-Dayi circle and other newly emerging Chan groups, which, by and large, rose from the south and were mainly based there.

106. For Japanese scholars, see particularly Ui 1935-43, YANAGIDA 1967, 1974, SEKIGUCHI 1964, 1967, 1969 and IBUKI 1991; for western scholars, see MCRAE 1986, FAURE 1991, 1997 and FOULK 1987.

In sum, we can say that this meditation master Zhanran participating in this Chan debate held in the palace chapel was a steadfast Northern Chan defender hostile to the newly emerging Chan movement which was later to be known as Southern Chan. Then, our question is, "Is such an apparently important controversy recorded in any other source?"

At this juncture, Zongmi 宗密 (780-841), the fifth Huayan patriarch and the self-described successor to the heroic Southern Chan defender Shenhui, comes to our aid. Zongmi recorded, at least three times, a famous Chan Controversy in the year 796:¹⁰⁷

德宗皇帝貞元十二年，敕皇太子集諸禪師，楷定禪門宗旨，搜求傳法旁正。遂有敕下，立荷澤大師為第七祖。內神龍寺見有碑記，又御制七代祖師讚文，見行於世。¹⁰⁸

In Zhenyuan 12 (796), Emperor Dezhong decreed that the Crown Prince convene Chan masters to determine the ultimate principles of the Chan school, to work out the direct and collateral lineages of dharma-transmission. After [the council], such a decree was issued to the effect that the Great Master Heze (Shenhui) be accepted as the seventh patriarch. Within the Shenlongsi, the palace temple, we can still see the stele and the inscription thereof. In addition, the emperor composed in person the eulogies for the seven patriarchs, which are still circulating in the world.

From Zongmi's description, it is clear, first of all, that this controversy was convened by Dezhong's Crown Prince (i.e., the future Shunzong), who also oversaw the proceedings in person. Secondly, the debate was held in 796. Thirdly, it took place at the palace monastery, the Shenlongsi. Fourthly, the controversy must have been triggered and dominated by the sectarian opposition between Northern and Southern Chan, based, we are told, on their conflicting opinions on the ultimate principles for the Chan school (*chanmen zongzi* 禪門宗旨) and the Chan lineage (*chuanfa pangzheng* 傳法旁正). Accordingly, most, if not all, of the monks participating in this controversy were Chan monks. A comparison of Zongmi's description of this 796 Chan Council and the one Wei Chuhou provides for the controversy involving Zhanran and Dayi

107. The following quotation is from Zongmi's *Zhonghua chuan xindi chanmen shizi chengxi tu* 中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖 (Chart of the master-disciple transmission of the meditation-gate of mind-ground transmitted in China), similar accounts can also be found in his *Yuanjuejing dashu chao* 圓覺經大疏鈔 (Selections from the *Great Commentary on the Yuanjue jing*; ZZ1.14.3.277a) and *Yuanjuejing lueshu chao* 圓覺經略疏鈔 (Selections from the *Small Commentary on the Yuanjue jing*; ZZ1.15.2.131a).

108. ZZ.2.15.5.432b.

easily establishes the identity of these two events. Therefore, we can conclude that the Chan controversy in which Zhanran participated and in which he engaged in a bitter debate with the Southern Chan partisan Dayi took place in 796 under the supervision of the future emperor Shunzong.¹⁰⁹

Given the historical importance of the 796 controversy, let us briefly comment on its probable result, which can be deduced from Wei Chuhou's inscription. Zongmi declared that after this Chan controversy the Tang government formally accepted Shenhui as the true successor to the Chan tradition, with his line established as the sole orthodox Chan lineage. Chan scholars doubt this claim.¹¹⁰ Wei Chuhou's inscription justifies this skepticism. It affirms Dayi's unusually close connection to the future Shunzong, who, as the convener and overseer of this controversy, apparently had the final say. Furthermore, evidence shows that the Chan tradition Dayi represented was quite critical of the tradition

109. This controversy was also recorded in Zhipan's FZTJ, which informs us that as requested by an imperial edict issued in the first month of Zhengyuan 12, the Crown Prince convened Chan masters in the "inner palace" (*neidian* 內殿) to decide the direct and collateral lines of dharma transmission within the Chan tradition (貞元十二年正月·敕皇太子於內殿集諸禪師·詳定傳法旁正; T2035.49.380a9-10). In addition to presenting its focus as Chan lineage, Zhipan's account of this controversy is remarkable in locating it in the "inner palace," rather than at the palace monastery Shenlongsi, as Wei Chuhou and Zongmi did. Here, Zhipan might have confused this Shenlongsi controversy with a later Buddhist council which is also recorded by Wei Chuhou in his epitaph for Dayi and was held at the Lindedian 麟德殿 (the Palace of Linde) on one of the anniversaries of Dezhong's birth (QW715 8: 7353a14-b11; YANAGIDA discusses some material related to this council, about two lines in an epitaph allegedly written by Liang Wudi 梁武帝 [r. 502-49] for Bodhidharma; YANAGIDA 1967: 395-96). Furthermore, Zhipan seems to have dated the controversy to the first month of 796, which contradicts Wei Chuhou's epitaph, according to which the controversy did not happen until sometime after the sixth month of 796. However, it is possible that the date Zhipan gives here is for the imperial edict ordering the convening of such a Chan council. Given its scale and the large number of its participants, it must have taken several months to convene the Shenlongsi council. If this understanding is correct, the FZTJ account of the 796 council does not present serious counter-evidence to the relevant accounts made by Zongmi and Wei Chuhou with regard to the date of the Chan council.
110. For a discussion of this account by Zongmi, see HU 1982: 70-71, YANAGIDA 1967: 345-46. YANAGIDA is skeptical of the claim that Shenhui, almost four decades after his death, was recognized by the Tang government as the seventh Chan patriarch.

descending from Shenhui.¹¹¹ Finally, it seemed that no particularly capable and influential monk was known at the time to have identified himself with Shenhui's tradition.¹¹² Given these facts, it is very likely that Dayi's Chan tradition,¹¹³ rather than Shenhui's, was eventually recognized as the true Chan successor, as the result of this 796 Chan controversy.

Now let us summarize what can be deduced from Wei Chuhou's inscription and other relevant sources about this Chan monk Zhanran and how this will inform our understanding of the identities of Shangusi Zhanran and/or Tiantai Zhanran. First of all, since the 796 controversy was a Chan council on Chan doctrinal and sectarian issues, Zhanran, as a prominent participant in the debate,¹¹⁴ was highly likely a Chan master. Second of all, since he was presented to have openly attacked the "Sudden Teachings" advocated by Southern Chan, he must have been a Northern Chan adept. Thirdly, from the fact that he was then surrounded by a following, which was ousted from the Chan council with the

111. Wei Chuhou criticized Shenhui's disciples (direct or second generation) in his epitaph for Dayi,

洛者日會，得總持之印，獨耀瑩珠。習徒迷真，橘枳變體，竟成檀經傳宗，優劣詳矣 (QW715 8: 7352b8-9).

[The Chan master who promulgated Huineng's teachings] in Luoyang was Shenhui, who attained the seal of *dhāraṇī* (*zongchi* 總持, lit., completely upholding [something in memory]). Absolutely, he radiated as brightly as a lustrous pearl, unmatched [by his contemporaries]. His disciples were lost to [his] true [spirit]. They were as different from their teacher in substance as the *ju* is from the *zhi*. They have deteriorated to the degree that they use the *Platform Sūtra* as the [symbol of] dharma-transmission. The superiority [of the teacher] and the inferiority of [the disciples] have thus become quite clear.

Here, Wei Chuhou criticizes Shenhui's disciples by referring to a saying in the *Zhouli* 周禮 (Rites of the Zhou), according to which the *ju* 橘 orange, transplanted to the north, becomes *zhi* 枳, an inferior variety of the *ju* (LUO 4: 1321). This bitter criticism levelled against Shenhui's disciples must reflect the opinion of Dayi's disciples, the sponsors of this funeral stele for which Wei Chuhou wrote the epitaph.

112. Cf. UI 1939-43 (I): 195-268, YAMPOLSKY 1967: 37-38.
 113. The main body of this southern Chan lineage runs as follows: Huineng → Nanyue Huairan 南嶽懷讓 (677-744) → Mazu Daoyi → Ehu Dayi.
 114. That Zhanran was a remarkable personage in the council is corroborated by the fact that his speech attracted the Crown Prince's attention.

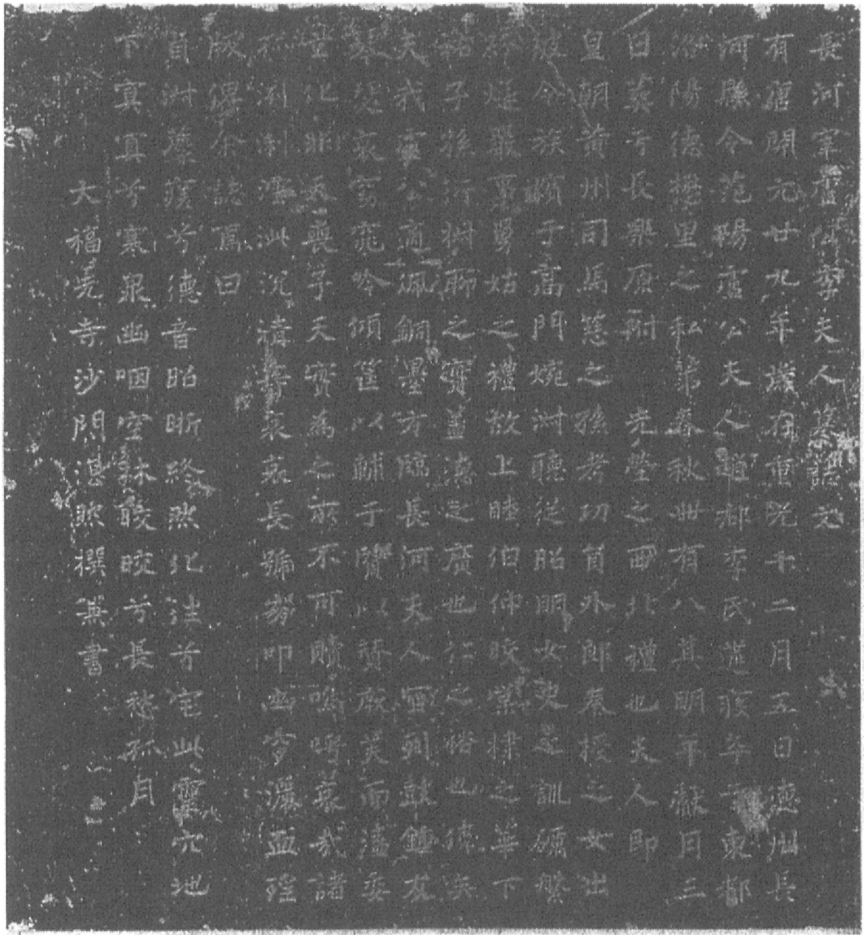
intervention of the future Shunzong, we know that Zhanran was a, if not the, leader of the Northern Chan monks attending the controversy. Finally, it should be noted that Zhanran died soon after the 796 controversy. In a word, the monk called Zhanran appearing in Wei Chuhou's inscription was a prestigious leader of the Northern Chan tradition, who died shortly after his unsuccessful efforts at defending Northern Chan in an important Chan council convened by the Tang government in 796 at the palace monastery Shenlongsi. Obviously, this Northern Chan master should not be confused with the Tiantai patriarch bearing the same dharma-name who died fourteen years earlier.¹¹⁵

Now if this Zhanran was not Tiantai Zhanran, how did he relate to Shangusi Zhanran? In all likelihood, this Zhanran was Shangusi Zhanran, who by the 770s had distinguished himself as a prominent Northern Chan master by successfully steering a campaign for imperial recognition of Sengcan. Since by the 770s he had assumed the supreme leadership of the Shangusi, which, given its alleged connections to the third Chan patriarch, must have been an important Chan center at the time, it would have been natural that Shangusi Zhanran was chosen as a representative of the Northern Chan school for the 796 Shenlongsi Chan council. At this point, then, we have two Zhanrans: one, the prominent Tiantai monk familiar to students of Chinese Buddhism, and the other, a lesser-known but nonetheless important monk in the Northern Chan lineage.

Now, it is time to make the acquaintance of a third monk, also called Zhanran, who lived in the Tang eastern capital Luoyang at least from 728 to 767. As far as I know, this Zhanran has rarely been mentioned in any Buddhist scholarship.¹¹⁶ Can this Zhanran be identified with either of the two Zhanrans who have concerned us so far?

115. The identification of the Zhanran in the Shenlongsi debate with Tiantai Zhanran was advanced by PULLEYBLANK (1960: 326-27). DU Jiwen 杜繼文, while apparently unaware of Pulleyblank's work, nonetheless arrived at the same identification (DU 1993: 248). PENKOWER repeated this identification without questioning its veracity in one of her recent articles (1997: 1300-1299), although she says in her dissertation that it "demands further corroboration" to accept the saying that "Zhanran, in failing health, should have broken his resolve and gone to the capital to debate a monk who was thirty-seven years old when Zhanran died (1993: 110)."

116. I myself was referred to this Zhanran, who is mentioned in a QTS poem, by Linda Penkower; she then informed me that it was Antonino Forte who had brought her attention to the poem.



長河宰盧公李夫人墓志文

An epitaph for Madame Li of the Honorable Lu, the Magistrate of the Chanhe District
Reproduced from LI 1996: 61

IV. *The Fuxiansi Zhanran: An Accomplished Monk-calligrapher*

We now have access to two epitaphs written by a monk called Zhanran who identifies himself as a *śramaṇa* affiliated with the Da Fuxiansi 大福先寺 temple in Luoyang. The funeral stelæ bearing these two epitaphs were unearthed in Yanshi District 偃師縣 in Luoyang.

The first epitaph, entitled “Changhe Zai Lugong Li Furen muzhiwen 長河宰盧公李夫人墓志文 (An epitaph for Madame Li of the Honorable Lu, the Magistrate of the Changhe District),” is dedicated to the deceased wife of Magistrate Lu (Lu Xianling 廬縣令) of the Changhe District 長河縣 in Dezhou 德州 (in modern-day Shandong Province).¹¹⁷ The epitaph does not bear a specific date, although we know that it was written shortly before the third day of the first month (*xianyue* 獻月)¹¹⁸ of Tianbao 1 (742), when Madame Lu, who died on the 5th day of the 12th month of Kaiyuan 29 (741), was buried. At the end of this epitaph, the author identifies himself as “Da Fuxiansi Shamen Zhanran zhuan jian shu 大福先寺沙門湛然撰兼書 (*Śramaṇa* Zhanran of the Great Fuxiansi Monastery ‘drafted (*zhuan* 撰)’ [this epitaph, for which he also] ‘executed the calligraphy (*shu* 書).’”¹¹⁹

As suggested by its title, “Tang gu Suiyang Jun Gushu xiancheng Zheng Fujun¹²⁰ muzhi ming bing xu 唐故睢陽郡穀熟縣丞鄭府君墓誌銘並序 (An epitaph, with an introduction, for the Honorable Zheng, the Vice Magistrate of Gushu District, Suiyang Prefecture of the Tang Dynasty¹²¹),” the second epitaph is dedicated to a local official named

117. CHEN Chang'an 1991a: 1, LI 1996: 61, ZHOU 1992: 1528.

118. The identification of the *xianyue* as the first month in the pre-modern Chinese calendar system is made by the compiler of the epigraphic collection containing this inscription by Zhanran (LI 1996: 241). No reason is given for this identification.

119. In pre-modern China, to erect a memorial stele for a deceased person was a complicated procedure including at least four stages. First, a relative, disciple, or close friend of the deceased found someone, usually a respected stylist, to draft (*zhuan* 撰) an inscription. After the inscription was completed, the sponsor of the stele searched for a famous calligrapher to make the copy of the inscription (*shu* 書, or *shudan* 書丹) to be carved into the stele. If the writer happened to be a good calligrapher, he also, if he agreed, took up this task. Finally, a professional artisan was hired to engrave (*ke* 刻) the inscription on the stele, using the copy prepared by the calligrapher.

120. “Fujun” is a common term of respect for the male subject of an epitaph.

121. Both Suiyang Prefecture and Gushu District were in present-day Shangqiu 商丘 City of He'nan Province.

唐故睢陽郡穀熟縣丞鄭府君墓誌銘並序
 府君諱吳字球光蔡陽關封人惟先周後也蓋宣王封母弟次於鄭曰
 公為周司徒寶券王室光烈休顯莫之與京故齊世襲慶黃中後武德門
 高峻而冠于今曾祖軌政隨及漸兵曹參軍祖寶倫隨左驍軍副馬
 黃顯初加朝服大夫沂陽郡司馬又徵武后朝左武衛將軍守岷州
 軍府初加朝服大夫沂陽郡司馬又徵武后朝左武衛將軍守岷州
 趙瑛美以濟物善無近名道九德以養和練百民而敦崇不觀喜愠如
 津淮循詞酌物子之文操兼重伯牙之妙弱冠自定衛調補尋陽郡尋陽
 縣尉于左武衛府君去官服闋探在涇州縣尉權輿為五輅之
 初累至寶九層之漸坦以樂道績取安罕涉探惟陽郡親熟縣丞未之
 官而置疾以開元九年七月十三日棄背于東京梁攝里之私第春秋卅
 有五後服之志先歿而落曾不永年焉及貴仕嗚呼嗚呼夫人憐城雀成
 德武附公牧之曾孫獲歸來至繁之孫讓留郡司馬並區之女對填四
 德時和六姻慈惠睦於閭庭今聞故於邪族詭習詩禮解馳真室不累可
 生要宜中道以開元九年六月五日頌替于極福里春秋卅有八歲河
 不德非苦法天德角而無情持漆纒幼學洽僅免懷嗚呼吳穿艱疾太甚集
 鼎門之刑終實且會後葬異歲方象仁者之樂以謀封榮之禮學天寶十
 三載歲次甲午十一月丙辰朔廿九日庚申遷厝于假師首陽鄉之原惟
 若持諸言曰葬者歲也秋人之不見倫以中禮厚而河為華允之不段
 如持孫之逸子故凡不器備攝家不慈敬安於環不期金玉從先志也
 歲葉而思遠孫不及而秀絕斷極始恭申悲樂環不期金玉從先志也
 長法策焉諸孤思氏育德善起玄理祝禮置家服為宗祀教和九族均
 十子樹欲靜柯冥胡不山清浴之北首陽之前依依體隨照照原田
 堂於此日晝散燹而何年永矣莫及哀家吳天

唐故睢陽郡穀熟縣丞鄭府君墓誌銘並序

An epitaph, with an introduction,
 for the Honorable Zheng, the Vice Magistrate of Gushu
 District, Suiyang Prefecture of the Tang Dynasty
 Reproduced from: CHEN Chang'an 1991: 216

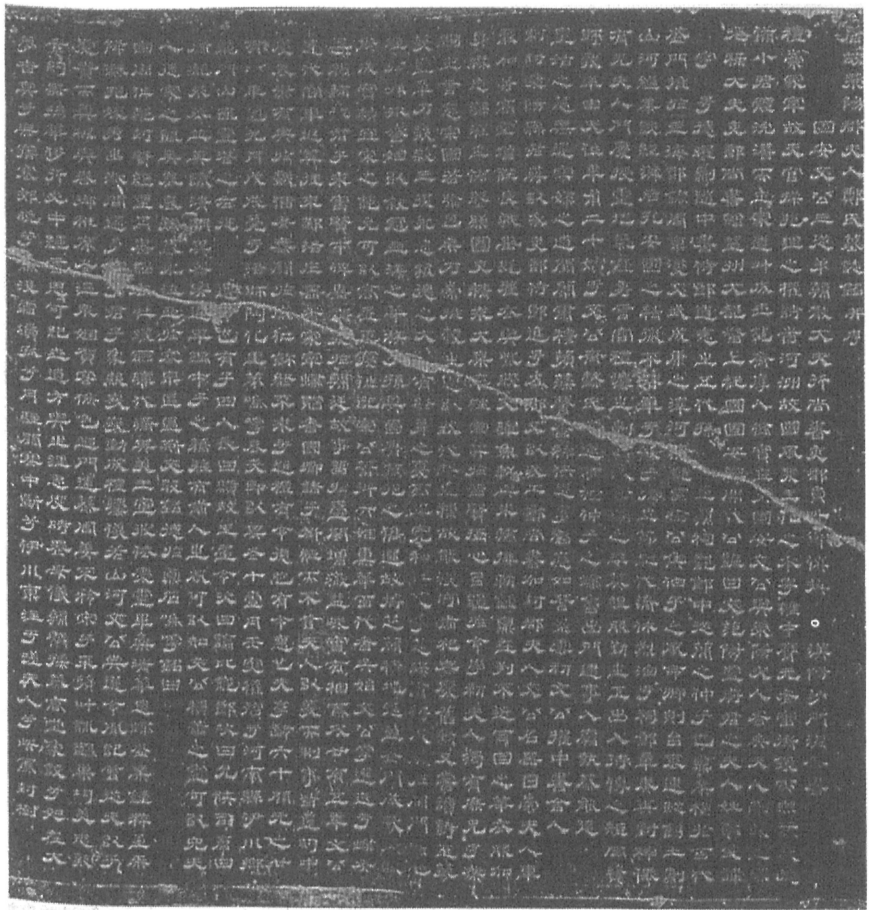


Zheng.¹²² However, the epitaph turns out to be for both Zheng Jiong 鄭昉 (677-721) and his wife who belonged to the Cui 崔 family in Boling 博陵.¹²³ The epitaph was written shortly before the 29th day of the 11th month of Tianbao 13 (754), when Madame Zheng was entombed. Zheng Jiong's second son, whose given name was Mian drafted the text of the epitaph (*cizi Mian shu* 次子沔述), while Zhanran, who identified himself as a monk of the Great Fuxiansi Monastery in Luoyang, executed the calligraphy for it.

Given that Zhanran was entrusted to write and prepare a formal copy of the inscription, he must have been respected not merely for his literary abilities but also for his skill in calligraphy. The calligraphy of the two epitaphs verifies that Zhanran was indeed a fine calligrapher.

In 1988, a funeral stele was discovered in Longmen Town (龍門鎮), Luoyang.¹²⁴ The stele bears an epitaph, entitled “Tang gu Xingyang Junfuren Zhengshi muzhiming 唐故滎陽郡夫人鄭氏墓志銘 (Epitaph for the late Junfuren Zheng of Xingyang Prefecture of the Tang).”¹²⁵ Lu Xun 盧僎 (n.d.)¹²⁶ composed the epitaph, for which a monk called Zhan-

122. CHEN Chang'an 1991a: 217, LI 1996: 76. I am grateful to Antonino Forte for referring me to this epitaph.
123. Boling was in present-day Lixian 蠡縣 of Hebei Province. The Cui of Boling was one of the four most prestigious families in the imperial China (cf. OTAGI 1987).
124. CHEN Chang'an 1991a: 193, LUOYANG WENWU GONGZUODUI 1991: 522, ZHU 1991.
125. *Junfuren*, like *xianfuren* 縣夫人, was a rank conferred on wives of officials. The Zheng family in Xingyang was among the four most prestigious families in the Tang (the other three being the Lu family in Fanyang, the Cui family in Boling and the Li family in Zhaojun. cf. LIU 1994, XU Boyong 1994; for the intermarriage between these four families, see OTAGI 1987).
126. According to his one-line XTS entry (XTS200 18: 5705), Lu Xun died as the Vice Minister of the Ministry of Personnel (*Libu yuanwailang* 吏部員外郎). Fourteen of his poems are preserved in the QTS (QTS99 4: 1069-72). His poems reveal that he had personal connections with Xuanzong and his Crown Prince Li Heng 李亨, the future Suzong (cf. WU 1993: 409). In his epitaph for Lu Congyuan's wife, Lu Xun identified himself as Congyuan's “third younger cousin” (*san congdi* 三從弟). This is corroborated by the XTS *zaixiang shixi* section, in which the two Lus are listed as the same generation of the Lu clan of Fanyang (XTS73 9: 2928-30). All this contradicts Lu Xun's XTS biography, according to which he was Lu Congyuan's third uncle (*san congfu* 三從父). Since the epitaph was written by Lu Xun himself, we have reason to believe that he was Congyuan's third younger cousin, rather than third uncle.



唐故滎陽郡夫人鄭氏墓誌銘

Epitaph for the late Junfuren Zheng of Xingyang Prefecture of the Tang

Reproduced from: LUOYANG WENWU GONGZUODUI 1991: 522

ran, who identified himself as a Hanyang native, executed the calligraphy.¹²⁷ Giving Madame Zheng's given name as Deyao 德曜, the epitaph refers to her husband as "Gu'an Wengong 固安文公 (Duke Wen of Gu'an)," whom Zhu identifies as Lu Congyuan 盧從愿 (667?-737).¹²⁸ As for the date of the epitaph, since it indicates that Madame Zheng was entombed on the *renyin* 壬寅 (nineteenth) day of the 11th month of Kaiyuan 28 (740), it must have been written shortly before that time.

This Zhanran merely identified the name of his native place, without specifying his temple affiliation. However, from the fact that he was entrusted to write an epitaph for a person who was buried in Luoyang, we conjecture that he was then staying in the city. Needless to say, he was also an established calligrapher. For these two reasons, I assume that this Zhanran of Hanyang was Fuxiansi Zhanran who wrote epitaphs for Madame Lu first and then for Madame Zheng. Since he does not identify himself as a Fuxiansi monk in his 740 inscription but does in the 742 one, we can speculate that his affiliation with the temple began at some point in the interval.¹²⁹

In addition, it is said that a memorial stele, now nonextant, was erected at Mount Xian 峴山 near Xiangyang 襄陽 (in present-day Hubei Province) in Kaiyuan 8 (720) in order to celebrate the "virtuous political career" (*dezheng* 德政) of Pei Guan 裴觀 (n.d.).¹³⁰ The memorial stele

127. *Hanyang shamen Zhanran* 漢陽沙門湛然, which literally means "Śramaṇa Zhanran of Hanyang (in present-day Hubei Province)." Cf. LUOYANG WENWU GONGZUODUI 1991: 522, CHEN Chang'an 1991: 193, ZHU 1991.
128. Lu Congyuan was a high-ranking official under the reign of Xuanzong, his official biographies in JTS100 9: 3123-25 and XTS129 14: 4478-79. Gu'an was in present-day Hebei Province, not too far from Zhuoye 涿野 (Fanyang 范陽), the home-basis of the Lu family in Fanyang. According to the XTS *zaixiang shixi*, one member of the Fanyang Lu family, Lu Xuan 盧玄 (*Gu'an Xuanhou* 固安宣侯) (XTS73 9: 2884). Lu Congyuan's two Tang biographies tell us that he descended from Lu Chang 盧昶 (JTS100 9: 3123, XTS129 14: 4478) and that his posthumous honorific title was Wen (JTS100 9: 3125, XTS129 14: 4479). All this proves that Gu'an Wengong refers to Lu Congyuan (cf. ZHU 1991: 57).
129. This speculation is advanced on the basis that the Fuxiansi was such a prestigious monastery that once Zhanran was affiliated with it he would not have failed to indicate this affiliation on a formal occasion like writing an inscription for a member of one of the most respected clans in the imperial China.
130. This memorial stele is recorded in an epigraphic collection compiled by an anonymous Song author, the *Baoke leibian* 寶刻類編 (A categorically arranged

bore an inscription which was composed by Jia Sheng 賈昇 (n.d.) and for which a monk called Zhanran executed the calligraphy. Some source identifies this Zhanran as Li Sizhen 李嗣真, which is obviously implausible.¹³¹ Rather, I propose that this monk Zhanran is exactly the monk who, calling himself a native of Hanyang, wrote the epitaph for Madame

collection of precious inscriptions) (SKQS 682: 700b). The *Baoke leibian* merely observes that the stele was found in Xiang 襄, which must have been Xiangyang. It is another source that specifies the location of the stele as Mount Xian, which is near to the City of Xiangyang (see next note).

Jia Sheng was a close friend of the famed Tang poet Meng Haoran 孟浩然 (689-740), who dedicated at least two poems to him (QTS160 5: 1632, 1642). It is noteworthy that Meng Haoran was a native of Xiangyang, where the memorial stele for Pei Guan was erected.

Coming from the Pei family in Xima 洗馬, which was included in the XTS *zaixiang shixi* (XTS71 7: 2192), Pei Guan once served the Surveillance Commissioner (*anchashi* 按察使) of Jingzhou 荊州 (in present-day Hubei Province) (JTS54 7: 2192). According to the *Chengdu zhi* 成都志 (Record of Chengdu), in Kaiyuan 12 (724) Pei Guan, who was then an Academician (*xueshi* 學士) at the Hongwen guan 弘文館 (Institute for the Advancement of Literature), was named Military Commissioner (*jiedushi* 節度使) of the Jiannan 劍南 area and an Aide (*zhangshi* 長史) in the Great Area Command (*da dudufu* 大都督府) (XU Minxia 1992: 537). His job in Sichuan lasted for only one year, as he was appointed the Prefect of Cangzhou 滄州 in the following year (XTS128 14: 4464). These fragmentary sources suggest that Pei Guan was a high-ranking official under the reign of Xuanzong and that he was gifted with literary and military talents. It was shortly after his term in Jingzhou expired that the memorial stele was erected for him. Its location at Xianshan makes me suspect that the erection of the stele was inspired by a famous stele on the same mountain which was erected in the memory of the capable Jin official Yan Hu 羊祜 (biography in JS34 4: 1013-25), who frequented the mountain during his ten-year service at Xiangyang as its prefect. It was said that Yang Hu was so beloved by his Xiangyang subordinates and the locals that they set up the memorial stele after his death (JS34 4: 1020, 1022). This stele, referred to as Yangbei 羊碑 (the stele for Yang [Hu]) or *liulei bei* 流淚碑 (the stele bringing out one's tears), had become an often quoted literary symbol among medieval Chinese literati (LUO 3: 819).

131. The source in question is *Hubei jinshi zhi* 湖北金石志 (Record of epigraphic inscriptions in Hubei) by Zhang Zhongxin 張仲忻 (fl. 1877), which also reports the existence of the memorial stele dedicated to Pei Guan. According to Zhang Zhongxing, this record was made on the basis of two other epigraphic collections, the *Fuzhai lubei* 復齋錄碑 (Stelæ recorded by Fuzhai) and the *Jinshi cunyi kao* 金石存逸考 (Inquiry into epigraphy, extant and lost) (SKSLXB 16: 12015). Zhang Zhongxin, who based his reasoning on the *Fuzhai lubei*, located the stele at Mount Xian. Since Mount Xian is in Xiangyang, this claim does not contradict the location the *Baoke leibian* gives for the stele.

Zheng Deyao in 740. This identification is bolstered by the fact that the Pei Guan stele was erected in Xiangyang, which, like Hanyang, was also in present-day Hubei Province. Thus, we can say that the monk-calligrapher Zhanran lived in Xiangyang, close to his native place Hanyang, at least as late as 720. (While in Xiangyang, he was probably affiliated, at least once, with a temple named Huijuesi 恢覺寺 on Mount Xian.)¹³²

The name Li Sizhen belongs both to a son of Tang Xuanzong and to a Tang artist. Neither of them can be identified as this monk Zhanran. By the time the monk Zhanran wrote the Pei Guan stele in 720 the artist Li Sizhen had already beendead for almost 25 years (he died in the year of the Wansui tongtian 萬歲通天 era [696]; JTS191 16: 5099). On the other hand, the other Li Sizhen, the fourth son of Xuanzong, was reported to have received his new title of Diwang 棣王 (Prince Di) in Kaiyuan 12 (724) (JTS107 10: 3260), which indicates that he had not yet left secular life to become a renunciant. It is therefore impossible to identify him with the monk Zhanran, who was known as a monk at least four years earlier.

132. This speculation is made by the following information. Yijing's 義淨 (635-713) *Da Tang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳 (Biographies of the eminent monks of the Great Tang who travelled to the Western Regions to seek [Buddha-]dharma, T. no. 2066, vol. 51) reports that a Meditation Master Cheng (Cheng Chanshi 澄禪師), due to his great reputation, was once summoned to the (eastern) capital, where he was ordered to reside at the Weiguosi 魏國寺 and Da Zhou Dongsi 大周東寺 (T2066.51.10b28-c7). These two temples were both the same temple Taiyuansi, which, established in 675, was renamed Weiguosi in 687 and three years later (690) achieved its another name Da Zhou Dongsi. It was in the same year (690) that this temple was formally transformed into the family temple for Empress Wu and got its fourth, and as far as we know the last, name – the Da Fuxiansi (FORTE 1973). Therefore, we know that this Meditation Master became affiliated with these two temples sometime between 687 and 690. Since Weiguosi achieved its two names (Da Zhou Dongsi and Da Fuxiansi) in the same year, the likelihood is high that he continued to stay at the same temple after it became known as Da Fuxiansi. Probably for this reason, FORTE proposes that the monk be identified with Huicheng 慧澄 (n.d.), who, as an important ideologue of Empress Wu, was in 695 indicated as the *sizhu* of the Fuxiansi and who presented in 696 a petition to the court asking that the text of the *Laozi huahu jing* 老子化胡經 (Scripture of the conversion of barbarians by Laozi) be destroyed (FORTE forthcoming; 1976: 92). In addition, Meditation Master Cheng is known to have performed ordination on Zhengu 貞固, who, in his way to India, encountered Yijing in Canton in Yongchang 永昌 1 (689) (T2066.51.10b15-11c19). Although no unmistakable evidence suggests that this Meditation Master Cheng was a Chan master, much less a Northern Chan leader, it is noticeable that he had previously lived at the Huijuesi 恢覺寺 on Mount Xian, exactly the same mountain on which the monk-calligrapher Zhanran helped erect a memorial stele for Pei Guan around three decades after Meditation Master Cheng left the mountain for Luoyang. We know very little about the Huijuesi,

Sometime between 720 and 740, he left Xiangyang for Luoyang. A piece of literary evidence shows that sometime between 720 and 726 the monk-calligrapher Zhanran arrived in the Luoyang region, where he first resided at the famous Xiangshansi 香山寺 temple in Longmen 龍門.¹³³

Meng Haoran has left us a poem entitled “Xun Xiangshan Zhan Shangren 尋香山湛上人 (Looking for the Superior Zhan at Mount Xiang).”¹³⁴

except for the fact that it continued to prosper beyond the beginning of the ninth century, when Zongmi met a disciple of Chengguan 澄觀 (738-839, SGSZ biography in 737a4-c20) Lingfen 靈峰 (d. 810) there, from whom he received instructions in the *Huayan jing* 華嚴經 (*Avatamsaka sūtra*) and two of Chengguan’s copious commentaries on the *sūtra* (this is reported in a letter Zongmi sent from Luoyang to Chengguan, who was then staying in Chang’an; see T1795.39.577a7-11; cf. Jan 1988: 17). I cannot resist the temptation of speculating on a probable connection between Zhanran and Meditation Master Cheng. Although a master-disciple relationship did not likely ever occur at Mount Xian between the two monks (still active in 767, Zhanran was probably not older than 80 in the year, making him a person younger than 10 in 690, when Meditation Master Cheng left Mount Xian). However, it is still possible that Zhanran shared Meditation-Master Cheng’s temple-affiliation and lineage on Mount Xian, if not exactly at the Huijuesi, which will make it better understood that sometime after Zhanran arrived in Luoyang, he became affiliated with and finally became the head of the Fuxiansi, which Dharma Master Cheng headed at the turn of the eighth century (for the time of Huicheng’s abbacy at the Da Fuxiansi, see FORTE 1976: 117-18).

133. This mountain was also famous for its connection to the Tang poet Bai Juyi 白居易 (773-847), who lived there for many years and called himself “Xiangshan居士 香山居士 (Layman of Xiangshan).” The most thorough discussion of the Xiangshansi is found in WEN 1988: 224-29.

134. This poem is preserved in QTS159 5: 1623,

朝遊訪名山，山遠在空翠。氛氳互百里，日入行始至。
策杖尋故人，解鞭暫停騎。石門殊豁險，篁逕轉深邃。
法侶欣相逢，清談曉不寐。平生慕真隱，累日探奇異。
野老朝入田，山僧暮歸寺。松泉多逸響，苔壁饒古意。
谷口聞鐘聲，林端識香氣。願言投此山，身世兩相棄。

An excursion started from the morning led me to the renowned mountain,

which is remote, as if in the empty and blue sky.

With dense mist spreading one hundred miles wide,

I did not arrive at the mountain until the sunset.

Carrying a staff, I looked for my old friend;

Putting aside the whip, I halted the horse for a while.

The Stone-gate is precipitous indeed,

The poem provides no clue as to when it was composed, but evidence from other sources enables us to date it rather narrowly. Xiangshan is in present-day Longmen Town, south of Luoyang. Thus, this poem was written during Meng Haoran's sojourn in the eastern capital from Kaiyuan 12 to 14 (724-26).¹³⁵

a bamboo track leading to some place deep and secluded.
 As dharma-brothers, we rejoiced at meeting each other again,
 subtle talks keeping us awake overnight.
 Fascinated with the true and abstruse all my life,
 I have investigated the extraordinary and unique truth day after day.
 The old bumpkin going to the field in the morning,
 while the mountain monks returning to the temple in the evening.
 Pine and spring abounding in ærial sounds,
 the mossed-cliff replete with primitive charms.
 Hearing the sounds of toll at the valley-entrance,
 sensing the fragrance at the top of the tree.
 I wish to throw myself into this mountain,
 Abandoning my own body and the world as well!

This poem attests to the profound friendship between Meng Haoran and Zhanran. As Meng Haoran calls Zhan Shangren "old friend" (*guren* 故人) in the poem, we know that their friendship began long before Meng Haoran went to visit Zhan Shangren at Xiangshan. The poem can also be read as a testimony of Meng Haoran's strong interest in Buddhism, which might have been an important bond bringing them together.

135. According to his biographies in the two Tang histories, Meng Haoran made a brief trip to the capital (*jingshi* 京師) at the age of 40 (728) to take the *jingshi* examination which he then failed. Meng Haoran returned to his hometown in Xiangyang after this frustration (年四十來遊京師，應進士不第，還襄陽; JTS109 15: 5050; cf. XTS203 18: 5779). Since the Tang had two capitals, in the west (Chang'an) and the east (Luoyang), *jingshi* can refer to either of them. If *jingshi* means Luoyang, then it could be easily ascertained that Meng Haoran arrived in Luoyang in 728. Unfortunately, the term *jingshi*, more often than not, refers to Chang'an, not Luoyang. Suffice it here to give an example provided by Yan Tingzhi's inscription for Yifu, which we have referred to for several times in this article:

十三年，皇帝東巡河洛，特令赴都，居福先寺。十五年，放還京師 (QTW280 3: 2843a3-4)。

In Kaiyuan 13 (725), Emperor [Xuanzong] travelled eastwards to inspect the Heluo area. On purpose, he ordered [Yifu] to come to the capital (Luoyang), where he was settled down at the Fuxiansi monastery. In Kaiyuan 15 (727), he was allowed to go back to *jingshi* (Chang'an).

Since the Fuxiansi was in Luoyang, we know that the "capital (*du* 都)" where he was ordered to reside at the Fuxiansi refers to Luoyang, not Chang'an. As it is

As for the subject of this poem, the so-called “Zhan Shangren,” although Meng Haoran did not give his full name in the poem, it was very probably our monk-calligrapher Zhanran. Three observations support this assumption.

First, the likelihood is very high that Meng Haoran and the monk-calligrapher Zhanran were friends themselves, since not only did they both come from Jingzhou, but also they had Jia Sheng and Lu Xun as mutual friends.¹³⁶ Secondly, it is from Longmen Town, where Xiangshan is located, that the Zheng Deyao stele bearing Zhanran’s 740 epitaph was excavated in 1988. This can be better explained on the assumption that Zhanran was precisely Zhan Shangren, who, we now know from Meng Haoran’s poem, once resided at the Xiangshansi. Finally, Meng Haoran dedicated another poem to a monk called Zhan Fashi 湛法師 (Dharma-master Zhan), who was, in all likelihood, Zhan Shangren. In this poem, Meng Haoran extolled Dharma-master Zhan’s

used in contrast to Helou (i.e., Luoyang) in this passage, the term *jingshi* indicates, without any doubt, Chang’an.

Now that we know that it was in Chang’an, rather than Luoyang, that Meng Haoran arrived in 728, do we know for certainty when his sojourn in Luoyang was made? Some scholars of Tang poems are of the opinion that Meng Haoran stayed in Luoyang from 724 to 726, exactly the same period when Xuanzong moved from Chang’an to reside there (FU 1987: 366). Apparently, Meng Haoran chose to go to the eastern capital in this period for the purpose of seeking a political career, an ambition he never fulfilled.

136. That Jia Sheng was befriended by Meng Haoran and Zhanran as well is evidenced by the participation of Jia Sheng and Zhanran in the establishment of Pei Guan stele, and Meng Haoran’s poems for Jia Sheng. As for Lu Xun’s status as Meng Haoran and Zhanran’s mutual friend, we have the following facts. On the one hand, the friendship between Zhanran and Lu Xun is confirmed by the fact that Lu Xun and Zhanran respectively drafted and executed the calligraphy for the 740 epitaph for Zheng Deyao. On the other, Lu Xun was among the seven people whom Wang Shiyuan 王士源 (n.d.), the compiler of Meng Haoran’s collection of works, listed in his preface to Meng’s collection as Meng’s best friends (*wangxing zhi jiao* 忘形之交) (QW378 4: 3837b5). Four of Meng Haoran’s extant poems, which were either related or exclusively dedicated to Lu Xun, attest to their friendship (QTS159 5: 1629, QTS160 5: 1637, 1662, 1663; cf. Wu 1993: 409-10). Finally, the XTS reports that Lu Xun, along with Meng Haoran, established on Mount Xian an memorial stele for his former superior Han Sifu 韓思復 (n.d., biography in XTS118 14: 4271-73) (故吏盧僕·邑人孟浩然·立石峴山, XTS118 14: 4273). Han Sifu died while serving as the prefect of Xiangzhou 襄州 Prefecture. Since Meng Haoran was a Xiangyang native, he was referred to as “native [of Xiangyang]” [*yiren* 邑人] on this occasion.

consummate literary and calligraphic skills.¹³⁷ This image of Zhan Fashi/Zhan Shangren perfectly matches what we now know about the

137. With an ambiguous title of “Huangshan yi Zhan Fashi 還山貽湛法師 (A poem for Dharma Master Zhan, who returned to the mountain, QTS159 5: 1620), this poem provides no clear clues to the time and place of its composition.

幼聞無生理，常欲觀此身。心跡罕兼遂，崎嶇多在塵。
晚途歸舊壑，偶與支公鄰。導以微妙法，結為清淨因。
煩惱業頓捨，山林情轉殷。朝來聞疑義，夕話得清真。
墨妙稱古絕，詞華驚世人。禪房閉虛靜，花藥連冬春。
平石藉琴硯，落泉灑衣巾。欲知冥滅意，朝夕海鷗馴。

Learning the principle of non-birth from my childhood,
It has been my wish to contemplate this body.
Rarely having fulfilled my will,
I have been swamped by worldly affairs.
Returning to the old ravine in my late years,
I happened to be neighbor of Reverend Zhi,
who instructed me in the wondrous law,
and established for me the pure cause.
Spontaneously, my karma afflictions were cast off,
with the desire for the mountain and forest increasingly enhancing.
Coming to ask about my doubts in the morning,
I obtain pure reality by conversing with him in the evening.
His calligraphic excellence matches the classical and supreme
standard,
while the beauty of his composition amazes the populace.
His meditation room has an empty and serene atmosphere,
with peony flowers growing there throughout the four seasons.
His zither and ink-slab are placed on the flat stone,
and he washes his clothes under the falling waterfall.
In order to experience the meaning of the abstruse destruction,
he is busy taming sea gulls from morning to evening.

This poem provides a sketch of the monk referred to as Zhan Fashi. In the eyes of Meng Haoran, who was himself a prominent poet, this monk was not only a skillful meditation master but also a highly accomplished artist (he was an excellent calligrapher, writer and musician). In particular, it is remarkable that Meng Haoran compared him to the Jin scholar-monk Zhi Dun 支遁 (a.k.a Zhi Daolin 支道林, 314-66, GSZ biography in 348b-349c), who was celebrated for his literary and philosophical accomplishment. All this suggests that this monk must have reached if not passed the prime of life (most likely in his forties) by the time Meng Haoran wrote this complimentary poem for him. As is to be shown below, this Zhan Fashi was very likely Fuxiansi Zhanran, who sometime between 720 and 726 moved from Xiangyang to Luoyang, where he first resided at the Xiangshansi and sometime before 740 began to be affiliated with the Fuxiansi. While Zhanran continued to stay in Luoyang after 726, Meng Haoran in

Zhanran who was not only a renowned calligrapher but also an accomplished writer.

For these three reasons, I am inclined to believe that the friendship between Meng Haoran and the monk-calligrapher Zhanran had already been established in Xiangyang before it was renewed sometime between 724 and 726, when the former visited Luoyang while the latter dwelled at the Xiangshansi in Longmen. This also enables us to date Zhanran's arrival at Luoyang from Xiangyang to sometime between 720 and 726.

One more literary source refers to a monk called Zhanran as the abbot of the Fuxiansi. This is a Tang poem entitled "Fuxiansi xun Zhanran sizhu bujian 福先寺尋湛然寺主不見 (Seeking in vain for *sizhu* Zhanran in the Fuxiansi Monastery)," which reads as follows:

寂然空佇立，往往報疏鐘。高館誰留客？東南二室峰。
川原通霽色，田野變春容。惆悵層城暮，猶言歸路逢。¹³⁸

Alone, I stand still for a long while,
Hearing the tolling of the bells here and there.
Who detained the guest in the magnificent abode?
The two Shi peaks to the south-east [of Luoyang].
Rivers and lands are all becoming sky blue,
The open fields are turning the color of spring.
Seeing shades of dusk covering multi-storeyed city-walls saddens me,
still hopeful of an encounter on the way home.

It is disappointing that this poem was not dated, although we do know the author to be Huangfu Ran 皇甫冉 (716/7-69/70).¹³⁹ Fortunately, a

the year left Luoyang for Yuezhou 越州 and finally for his hometown in Xiangyang, where he died 14 years later (FU 1987: 367-69). For this reason, I assume that they had since got little chance to get together. Therefore, this poem was written before 726, either when Zhanran was in Xiangyang (in that case the mountain in question very likely referred to Xianshan), or sometime between 724 and 726 when Meng Haoran visited Luoyang and Zhanran lived at the Xiangshansi (this poem was then written when Zhanran went back to Xiangshan from Luoyang, where he met Meng Haoran). We can thus conclude that by 726 Zhanran had already been over forty years old. In other words, he must have been born before 686. As we are going to see in Section (V), this dating will become a piece of important evidence to decide whether or not Shangusi Zhanran is actually identical with Fuxiansi Zhanran.

138. QTS249 8: 2802.

139. Huangfu Ran has a two-line XTS entry in the *Xin Tangshu* (XTS202 18: 5771), which is obviously based on Dugu Ji's preface to the collection of Huangfu Ran's works, compiled by his younger brother Huangfu Zeng shortly after Huangfu Ran's death. In addition, the Qing QTW compilers also provided a

careful reading of biographical material about him, by Dugu Ji, suggests a tentative time frame for this poem.

Here, we need to draw a brief sketch of Huangfu Ran's political career on the basis of his biographical sources. In Tianbao 15 (756), when he was 41 years old, Huangfu Ran took the national *jinshi* 進士 ("Presented

brief biographical note on Huangfu Ran, which was clearly based on Dugu Ji's preface and the JTS entry. Except for one piece of evidence, it fails to provide any additional information on Huangfu Ran's life.

Huangfu Ran was a native of Danyang 丹陽 of Runzhou 潤州 (in present-day Zhenjiang 鎮江 City of Jiangsu Province). He had a prominent forefather called Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐 (282-215), a famous hermit in the Jin 晉 Dynasty (the importance of this figure at this time is attested to by the unusual length of his *Jin Shu* biography [JS51 5: 1409-18]). The dates of Huangfu Ran's birth and death are deduced from Dugu Ji's preface to Huangfu Ran's collection and some of his extant poems believed to have been written to the end of his life. In the preface, Dugu Ji briefly related the final stage of Huangfu Ran's life in this way,

大歷二年，遷左拾遺，轉右補闕。奉使江表，因省家至丹陽。
朝廷虛三署郎位以待君之復。不幸短命，年方五十四而歿
(QW386 4: 3940b17-3941a1)。

In Dali 2 (767), he was promoted to the position of Left Reminder, and then was installed as Right Rectifier of Omissions. He was sent to the *jiangbiao* region (i.e., south of the Yangtze River) on a mission. He took the opportunity to visit his family in Danyang. The government kept the position of the *sanshu lang* for him. Unfortunately, his life-span was short, and he died when he was only 54 years old.

The *sanshu* 三署 ("Three Corps") refers to the three categories in which expectant appointees called Gentlemen (*lang* 郎) were differentiated by rank. The three groups were the Inner Gentlemen (*zhonglang* 中郎), the attendant Gentlemen (*shilang* 侍郎), and the Gentlemen of the Interior (*langzhong* 郎中), each loosely organized under a Leader of Court Gentlemen (*zhonglangjiang* 中郎將) under overall supervision of the Chamberlain for Attendants (*langzhongling* 郎中令) (HUCKER 1983: 401). A position in the "three corps" could be very promising for one's political career. Dugu Ji regretted that Huangfu Ran's premature death prevented him from doing justice to the great expectation the court had for him. Dugu Ji's preface suggests that these events in Huangfu Ran's life, first promotion to the post of a Left Reminder and then of the Right Rectifier of Omissions, an official journey to the south, his visit at his hometown and his subsequent death, all happened in or shortly after 767. In other words, he did not die too long after that year. Further, since Huangfu Ran has left us a poem which was probably written in 769 (or 770), his death can be tentatively dated to the time (FU 1987: 566-67). Given that he died at 54, he would have been born in 716 (or 717).

Scholar") examination again after repeated failure and was ranked number one among all the candidates.¹⁴⁰ This paved the way for his political career. After briefly serving as a local official (District Defender [*xianwei* 縣尉]) of Wuxi 無錫 in present-day Jiangsu, he was appointed the left Chamberlain for the Imperial Insignia (*zuojinwu* 左金吾). He also served in the Military Service Section (*bincao* 兵曹). When Wang Jin was appointed the Vice Marshal (*fu yuanshuai* 付元帥) of the He'nan Commandery in 765/6 or shortly thereafter, Huangfu Ran worked under him as a Chief Secretariat (*zhangshuji* 掌書記) in 766/7.¹⁴¹ Since the headquarters of the Marshal of the He'nan Command was located in Luoyang, this new post brought Huangfu Ran to Luoyang and kept him there until 767 when he was first named Left Reminder (*zuoshiyi* 左拾遺) and then Right Rectifier of Omissions (*youbuque* 右補闕). This means that Huangfu Ran stayed in Luoyang for barely one year.

Thus, according to Dugu Ji's preface, the short period between 765/6, when Huangfu Ran began to work as a Chief Secretariat under Wang Jin, and 767, when he was called back to the capital to serve as a Left Reminder, was the only time Huangfu Ran spent in Luoyang.¹⁴² Conse-

140. Both the JTS entry and Dugu Ji's preface remain silent on the specific year of the *jinshi* examination in which Huangfu Ran distinguished himself. The QTS compilers date the examination to Tianbao 15, without giving the source for this claim. This was at least the second time Huangfu Ran took the *jinshi* examination, for in one of his QTS poems (QTS249 8: 2800), he alludes to failure, at least once, in the *jinshi* examination.
141. According to his JTS biography, it was in the year next to Guangde 廣德 2 (764), that is 765 or 767, that Wang Jin was promoted to the position of Vice Marshal of He'nan Command (JTS118 14: 3416; cf. XTS145 15: 4715-16). Accordingly, Huangfu Ran began to work under him after that time.
142. We cannot make this point without qualification. Given that Dugu Ji's preface focuses on Huangfu Ran's post-*jinshi* period and that Huangfu Ran did not pass the examination until he was 41 years old, we cannot exclude the possibility that he visited Luoyang or even temporarily lived there before his political career formally began following his outstanding performance in the 756 *jinshi* examination. However, the following several considerations still incline me to accept the period between 765/6 and 767 as the most likely date for Huangfu Ran's stay in Luoyang and accordingly, for the composition of the poem in which he expressed his regret at not seeing Zhanran at the Fuxiansi. First of all, Dugu Ji's preface provides the earliest and the most complete biography for Huangfu Ran. Secondly, Huangfu Ran was a native of Danyang, far from Luoyang. Thirdly, from the fact that he visited his family in Danyang rightly before his death, we know that his family still lived there even several years after

quently, we can assume that his poem about Abbot Zhanran was composed around 767. Since this Zhanran was called the Fuxiansi abbot merely twelve years after a monk with the same dharma-name and temple-affiliation wrote an epitaph for a Luoyang resident, it is safe to assume that the Fuxiansi abbot was in fact the monk-calligrapher.

At this juncture, we must consider a final source probably also related to this monk-calligrapher. It is reported in Degan's 德感 (n.d.) biography in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* that he had a "formidable adversary" (*qingdi* 勍敵) called Zhan Fashi 湛法師 (Dharma-master Zhan),¹⁴³ whom

he began to serve, making it unlikely that he lived alone in Luoyang for a considerable amount of time when no social obligation requested him to do so.

143. 731c24; Degan was instrumental in manufacturing political propaganda in the interest of Empress Wu at the end of the seventh century (cf. FORTE 1976; particularly, 107-08). The importance of this monk in his day is demonstrated by the fact that Empress Wu was said to have sent him a highly complimentary letter, in which she compared him to Nagārjuna and Āsvaghoṣa (731c18-20; cf. FORTE: 100-01). FORTE is inclined to identify Degan as a Tiantai adherent, a conclusion he draws from an analysis of the titles of some of Degan's works as reported in his SGSZ biography. According to the SGSZ, Degan's works included the *Qi fangbian* [yi] 七方便 [義] ([On the meaning] of the seven expedients"), *Ren huixin* [yi] 人回心[義] ([On the meaning] of the men who turn the mind), *Jiandunwu yi* 漸頓悟義 (On the meaning of the gradual and sudden enlightenment), all of which have not survived to us. Since the *qifangbian* clearly refers to a concept invented by Zhiyi 智顛 (538-597), the *de facto* founder of the Tiantai school, FORTE argues that these works represented some expositions of the Tiantai doctrines advocated by Zhiyi (FORTE 1976: 106-108).

As for Degan's relationship with this Dharma-master Zhan, the SGSZ reports, 與湛法師為勍敵耳。故交綏而退焉 (731c23-24), which FORTE translates as, "[Degan's works] lost ground because of the bitter criticism of the Master of the Law Chan[-jan] (*pinyin*, Zhan[ran]) (FORTE 1976: 101)." From this, FORTE deduces that this Dharma-master Zhan criticized Degan's works so bitterly and effectively that they eventually sank into oblivion (FORTE 1976: 107). As far as Chinese monastic biographical/hagiographical literature is concerned, it is not likely that the biographer reported in his biography something so negative for the subject. This general rule has prompted me to understand this sentence in a way different from FORTE's. I believe that the crucial phrase here is *jiaosui* 交綏, which refers to a *Zuozhuan* 左傳 saying. According to the *Zuozhuan* commentator Du Yu 杜預 (222-84), the *jiaosui* means that two armies both retreated after a brief battle, through which both sides realized that neither of them commanded decisive advantage over the other (MOROHASHI 1: 538, LUO 2: 341; for the originals in *Zuozhuan* and Du Yu's Commentary, see LUAN 1987: 1852a). Thus, Degan and this dharma-master Zhanran were presented as two equally matched adversaries who once fiercely debated each other. This means that they were contemporaries and had some personal contacts during their lives.

FORTE identifies as the Tiantai patriarch Zhanran.¹⁴⁴ However, this critic of Degan was very likely Fuxiansi Zhanran, rather than Tiantai Zhanran. Since the *Song gaoseng zhuan* reports that this Zhan Fashi engaged in a bitter debate with Degan, he was without doubt Degan's contemporary. Degan flourished between the end of the seventh century and the beginning of the eighth century.¹⁴⁵ Obviously, Tiantai Zhanran, who was born in 711, was not likely to have debated with Degan in person. Fuxiansi Zhanran, on the contrary, was already in Luoyang by 726. Furthermore, as I show in the next section, he was associated with Chan (Northern Chan in particular), making it more plausible that he was the one to criticize the Tiantai exponent Degan.¹⁴⁶

On the basis of these sources, we can conclude the following about this monk-calligrapher Zhanran. As a native of Hanyang, he had already been respected as a calligrapher as early as 720 when he wrote a memorial inscription for Pei Guan at Mount Xian in Xiangyang, where he made friends with literati including Meng Haoran, Jia Sheng, and probably also Pei Guan, a high-ranking local official in Jingzhou. Sometime after 720 but before 726, he entered Luoyang (presumably from Xiangyang), where he was first affiliated with the Xiangshansi in Longmen and then, sometime between 740 and 742, with the Da Fuxiansi Monastery. This temple-affiliation lasted at least until 754 when he was asked to execute the calligraphy for one more funeral epitaph. Since the An Lushan Rebellion broke out in 755,¹⁴⁷ we do not know whether or not this Zhanran continued to stay at the Fuxiansi after

144. FORTE 1976: 107.

145. FORTE 1976: 106.

146. Degan's SGSZ biography merely observes that he died when he was over 60 (713c22). On the premise that Degan's activity is fairly known for the period 685-703, FORTE assumed that he was born around 640 (FORTE 1976: 106). In other words, he believed that Degan died around 703. However, if my identification of Zhan Fashi is correct, we have to assume that Degan lived beyond 720 and debated the monk-calligrapher Zhanran, who arrived in Luoyang between 720 and 726.

147. During the seven-year war between the Tang and the rebellious An Lushan and Shi Siming 史思明 (?-761), Luoyang was captured twice by the rebellious army. The first capture happened on 18th January 756 (Tianbao 14.XII.12). It lasted until 3rd December 757 (Zhide 至德 2.X.18), when the Tang army reclaimed the city with the help of the Uighurs. The rebellious army recaptured the capital on the 7th June 760 (Shangyuan 1.IV.19) and held it until 20th November 762 (Baoying 1.X.30) (JTS10 1: 230, XTS5 1: 151; cf. FORTE 1988: 225-26).

that time. However, it is certain that by 767 he had already been made the abbot of the monastery and therefore had been based there for quite a long time.¹⁴⁸ Finally, two things must be noted about this monk. First, he was a bitter critic of Tiantai. Second, as evidenced by three funeral epitaphs he either wrote and/or executed calligraphy for, he maintained connections to all of the four most prestigious clans at his time; they were the Li family in Zhaojun (his 742 epitaph), the Lu family in Fanyang (the 740 and 742 epitaphs), the Zheng family in Xingyang (the 754 epitaph) and the Cui family in Boling (the 754 epitaph).

Here we are faced with one more problem. The Tang dynasty saw a Monk Zhanran (“Shi Zhanran 釋湛然”) celebrated as a remarkable calligrapher. The Tang calligraphic critic Lü Zong 呂總 (n.d.) thought very highly of this monk’s calligraphic achievement, saying in his *Xu shuping* 續書評 (Continuation of the *Shuping* [comments on calligraphy]) that none after the Han writer Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53-18 BC) compared to him.¹⁴⁹ Zhanran was also highly esteemed as a calligrapher by Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 (?-1396?),¹⁵⁰ the Ming author of the *Shushi huiyao* 書史會要 (A compendium of the essentials about the history of calligraphy). According to Tao Zongyi, Zhanran followed Zhong Yao 鐘繇 (151-230) in his calligraphic style and the elegance of his calligraphic work could be compared to the *Hengyue bei* 衡嶽碑 (Stele of Mount Heng).¹⁵¹ Neither Tao Zongyi nor Lü Zong bothered to provide any information about this monk-calligrapher Zhanran. Art historians have unanimously agreed that he was Tiantai Zhanran.¹⁵² However, now that the status of Fuxiansi Zhanran as a calligrapher is firmly established by at least four epitaphs (while no evidence shows that either Tiantai Zhanran or Shangusi Zhanran was ever respected as a skillful calligrapher), we must accept Fuxiansi Zhanran, rather than his Shangusi or Tiantai homonymous contemporary, as the celebrated mid-Tang monk-calligrapher.

148. Generally speaking, a monk would not have been made the *sizhu* of a temple until he had lived there for a considerably long period.

149. “子雲之後，難與比肩決(SKQS 836: 177).” Here I have to acknowledge the tentative nature of my identification of the calligrapher styled Ziyun as Yang Xiong. It is possible that there was another calligrapher with the same style name.

150. Tao Zongyi was the author of the *Shuofu* 說郛, a massive encyclopedic work.

151. “湛然師鐘繇，工真行，比見衡嶽碑，亦無愧色(SKQS 814: 717b).”

152. ZHU 1991; LI 1996: 255.

Now we have to consider the problem of whether or not Fuxiansi Zhanran can be identified with either Shangusi Zhanran or Tiantai Zhanran. While it is rather certain that Fuxiansi Zhanran could not have been Tiantai Zhanran (the latter was only nine years old when the former wrote his inscription for Pei Guan in 720),¹⁵³ it is not so easy to

153. I argued before for the identity of the authors of the four inscriptions on the basis of the fact that they were all named Zhanran, monk-calligraphers, and contemporaries. However, we should also consider the possibility (no matter how slight it might be) that the Zhanran writing for Pei Guan in 720 and the Zhanran who wrote in 740 were different from Fuxiansi Zhanran, who wrote in 742 and 754. Even assuming this extremely slight possibility, it is hard to identify Fuxiansi Zhanran with Tiantai Zhanran.

By Tianbao 1 (742) Fuxiansi Zhanran had already been ordained (since he calls himself a *sramana* in the 742 epitaph he prepared for Madame Lu) and was formally affiliated with an outstanding monastery in Luoyang. On the other hand, no source identifies Tiantai Zhanran as a monk prior to 742 when he was 32.

The SGSZ, the earliest surviving source for the life of Tiantai Zhanran, is not consistent on the date of Zhanran's ordination. Zanning 贊寧 (919-1001), Tiantai Zhanran's SGSZ biographer, first uses the ambiguous expression *tianbao chunian* 天寶初年 (T2061.50.739b25), meaning the early Tianbao era (742-55). Then, towards the end of the biography, he says that Zhanran's clerical life lasted 34 years, which implies that Zhanran became a monk in 748 (Tianbao 7). Since the Tianbao era lasted 14 years, Tianbao 7 is the middle of the era, which would work against the idea that Zhanran's ordination took place during the early Tianbao era. The FZTJ, another basic source for Tiantai Zhanran's life, clearly gives Tianbao 7 (748) as the year Zhanran gave up his allegiance to Confucianism and formally took up a Buddhist clerical career (天寶七年，始解縫掖著僧袈梨鬘 T2035.49.188c14). Zhipan probably arrived at this date on the basis of the number of Zhanran's cleric years given by the SGSZ. Despite this discrepancy, we can, on the basis of the FZTJ and SGSZ, at least assume that Tiantai Zhanran became a monk no earlier than 742, when the Tianbao era began. Even if we understand the expression *Tianbao chunian* in the SGSZ biography to mean the first year of the Tianbao era (742), which is very unlikely (had Zhanran's SGSZ biographer meant the first year of the Tianbao era, he would have used the expression *Tianbao yuannian* 天寶元年), no source indicates that Zhanran ever travelled to, let alone lived in, Luoyang at anytime during that period. On the contrary, reliable sources show that from his ordination until several years after 754, Tiantai Zhanran remained in the south-eastern coastal areas, never venturing to the north:

天寶初年，解縫掖而登僧籍。遂往越州曇一律師法集，廣尋持犯開制之律範焉。復於吳郡開元寺敷衍止觀。無何朗師捐代，掣密藏獨運於東南 (T50.2061.739b25-28)。

In the early Tianbao era, taking off the robes of a Confucian, he registered himself as a Buddhist priest. Subsequently, he went to

determine with certainty whether or not Fuxiansi Zhanran was actually Shangusi Zhanran. Before trying to tackle this elusive problem, let us look at the religious beliefs and circle Fuxiansi Zhanran shared with Shangusi Zhanran, which, at first appearance, might suggest that they were actually the same person.

V. *The Religious Background of Fuxiansi Zhanran and His Relationship with Shangusi Zhanran*

A useful clue to the religious background of Fuxiansi Zhanran is, interestingly, the family background described in the epitaph Fuxiansi Zhanran wrote in 742. The family background of interest to us is not, however, that of Magistrate Lu, but rather that of his wife. As a matter of fact, nothing is known about Magistrate Lu (we do not even know his given name), except for his native place, which the epitaph gives as Fan-yang. We are, however, told something about the family background of Madame Lu. She was a member of the renowned Li 李 family of Zhaojun 趙郡, the same family to which Li Chang, who built a pagoda for Sengcan at Wangongshan, belonged. In addition, the epitaph identifies Madame Lu as a grand-daughter of Li Ci 李慈 (n.d.), the Vice Prefect (*sima* 司馬) of Huangzhou 黃州 Prefecture, and a daughter of Li Qinshou 李秦授 (n.d.), a Vice Administer of the Bureau of Evaluation (*kaogong yuanwailang* 考共員外郎). While nothing is known about Li Ci, Li Qinshou was a notorious “cruel official (*kuli* 酷吏)” who is mentioned several times in the new and old Tang histories. If the authors of the two Tang histories can be trusted, Li Qinshou was rather greedy and

Yuezhou, where he attended the *vinaya* lectures convened by Vinaya Master Tanyi (691-771), extensively seeking the precepts which counter misbehaviors and formulate norms. In addition, he promulgated cessation and contemplation at the Kaiyuansi temple. Shortly later, [his teacher] Master Xuanlang died. He began to move alone around the south-eastern areas, carrying esoteric texts with him.

According to this SGSZ passage, Tiantai Zhanran went to study with Tanyi in Yuezhou (in present-day Zhejiang) immediately following his ordination. After spending some time with Tanyi, he began to preach on Tiantai at the Kaiyuansi in Wujun, also in present-day Zhejiang. His Kaiyuansi lectures ended with the death of his master Xuanlang in 754, which approximately coincided with the social turmoil issuing from the An Lushan Rebellion (755-63) and threw him into a life of instability, moving here and there, as noted earlier. There is no possibility that he went to the north during this period and registered himself as a formal resident at the Fuxiansi.

cruel by nature. He seemed to have been fairly active and powerful under the reign of Empress Wu. According to the accusations against him after his fall from power, he had tortured and killed some members of the Li imperial family-house, and “venomously framed innocent and honest people.”¹⁵⁴ Like other more notorious “cruel officials” including Lai Junceng 來俊臣 (651-97) and Zhou Xing 周興 (?-691),¹⁵⁵ Li Qinshou threw his lot in with Empress Wu and was instrumental in removing Li imperial members who might have posed a threat or simply been obstacles to her ambition. His role in defending Empress Wu’s new rule made him an object of revenge when the Li family restored the Tang dynasty. On the eighth day of the third month of Shenlong 神龍 1 (705), almost immediately after his enthronement, Zhongzong 中宗 (r. 705-09) issued a decree to vent Li family’s rage against the clique of Wu officials. The edict severely condemned the heinous deeds of “cruel officials” in persecuting their political rivals. Most of the senior members of the clique had already died by that time, but three of the survivors were banished to Lingnan 嶺南, including Li Qinshou.¹⁵⁶

Hatred for Li Qinshou seems to have been widespread and sustained. Eighteen years after he was banished by Zhongzong, efforts were still being made to prevent his descendants from pursuing any form of political career. The compilers of the *Jiu Tangshu* inform us of a memorial submitted on the twelfth day of the third month of Kaiyuan 13 (725), in which the Censor-in-chief (*yushi dafu* 御史大夫) Cheng Xingchen 程行誡 (n.d.) condemned the cruel behavior of twenty-three officials, including Li Qinshou, formerly castigated and proposed that their descendants be permanently banned from service.¹⁵⁷

154. JTS186 15: 4841.

155. Their biographies in the two Tang histories are found in JTS186 15: 4837-42, XTS209 19: 5905-08.

156. “李秦授，曹仁澤，並改與嶺南遠惡處 (JTS7 1: 138).”

157. “殘害宗枝，毒陷良善，情狀猶重，子孫不許與官 (JTS186 15: 4841).” The two Tang histories allude to a general called Li Qinshou who served under the rebellious military leader Shi Siming. This Li Qinshou was captured by Li Guangbi 李光弼 (708-64) around 760. In other sources, he is presented as Li Tai 李泰 (JTS110 10: 3316). Even if the name given by the two Tang histories for the general is correct, this Li Qinshou cannot be identified as the “cruel official” Li Qinshou. As early as 707, Li Qinshou had been denounced as a notorious “cruel official.” He must have been over thirty by then. Accordingly, he must have been over eighty by 760, obviously too old to serve in an army rebelling against the Tang. Furthermore, the role of the general seems incompatible with the Li Qinshou who was known as a court official.

A mere seventeen years had passed between 725, when the condemnation of Li Qinshou was renewed, and 742, when Zhanran composed the epitaph for one of Li Qinshou's daughters. We cannot therefore assume that the condemnation of Li Qinshou had significantly changed or been forgotten by the time Fuxiansi Zhanran was requested to make the epitaph. In view of this, one cannot help but wonder why Zhanran, who, given that he was affiliated with an illustrious monastery like the Fuxiansi, was obviously a prominent monk, had decided to write an epitaph for a woman whose father was then a social and political anathema.¹⁵⁸ Zhanran would have known very well that to write such an epitaph was to wed himself to an officially condemned and popularly reviled official. He would also have clearly known that the ties thus established would literally have been indelible because his name was to be carved on the stone stele with that of Li Qinshou, the father of the subject of his epitaph. How should we understand the decision of Fuxiansi Zhanran to write the epitaph?

The reader might have noticed that not only did Magistrate Lu come from the same native place as the great sixth Chan patriarch Huineng was supposed to have, he also shared a common family name with him. A common ancestor might not have been too many generations distant from Huineng and Magistrate Lu. At any rate, a person sharing a common family name and native place with the Sixth Patriarch would necessarily have invited deep respect and a sense of close affinity from any follower of the religious tradition initiated by him. This might lead one to explain this perplexing action of Zhanran with the hypothesis that he had some Southern Chan background, which tied him with Huineng to the extent that he ventured to write an epitaph for Madame Lu in defiance of the potential risk to his own reputation and monastic career.¹⁵⁹

158. GUISSO (1978) shows that later court historians vilified both Empress Wu and her accomplices to the extent that virtually nothing concerning her reign was not written without serious distortion and/or exaggeration. In view of this, the historical veracity of the image of Li Qinshou as depicted by the two Tang histories cannot be accepted without reservation. However, since Li Qinshou was repeatedly condemned by the Tang court, it is of little doubt that he was rancorously hated by the Tang rulers.

159. If this were indeed the case, we have to assume that by the 740s, Southern Chan had already become influential enough to make its presence felt at a prestigious temple in the eastern capital of the Tang Empire. We cannot categorically exclude the presence of Southern Chan at the Da Fuxiansi. By 741 Huineng had been

No matter how plausible and exciting this hypothesis might sound, it must be abandoned for the following two reasons. First of all, while whether or not Huineng was originally a Fanyang native is debatable, no evidence unambiguously establishes that he was already considered so by 742 when Fuxiansi Zhanran wrote the epitaph for Madame Lu. As far as I know, no source earlier than the ninth century represents Huineng as a Fanyang native, while the earliest known version of the *Platform Sūtra*, the version excavated from Dunhuang, tells us that his father served in Fanyang before he was banished to Lingnan in present-day Guangxi Province, without explicitly identifying him as a native of Fanyang.¹⁶⁰ A memorial inscription the poet Wang Wei contributed to Huineng, which represented the earliest reliable biographical source we have ever known, strongly suggests that Huineng was not coming from a prestigious family based in the central part of China.¹⁶¹ Furthermore, evi-

dead for almost three decades (713) and Shenhui's famous campaign at Huatai 滑臺 had occurred nearly one decade earlier, in 732. It is possible that by that time Southern Chan might have already gained ground in some northern parts of China, particularly in the Luoyang area, thanks to Shenhui's influence in nearby Nanyang 南陽. Despite its close connection to Northern Chan, the Fuxiansi seemed to have also lodged at least one monk who was, at least for some time, known as a Shenhui sympathizer. Shenhui's *yulu* 語錄 records that a Fuxiansi monk was among Shenhui's supporters who applauded him and solicited him to lecture during his Huatai sermons (HU 1982: 269).

160. The original text in the Dunhuang manuscript, which was probably written between 830 and 860 (YAMPOLSKY 1967: 90), reads, “*benguan Fanyang* 本官范陽” (the English translation of the relevant passage found in YAMPOLSKY 1967: 126). One might suggest that the term *benguan* here must be read as *benguan* 本貫 (native place) (as a matter of fact, this is exactly a change some later editors of the *Platform Sūtra* made in their texts; see Komazawa daigaku zenshūshi kenkyūkai 1978: 275). I see no convincing reason for this reading, the two characters 官 and 貫 not being similar enough in form to have made it likely that 貫 was mis-written as 官.
161. “禪師俗姓盧氏，某郡某縣人也。名是虛假，不生族姓之家；法無中邊，不居華夏之地。” Quotation is from YANAGIDA 1967: 540. While it is almost a consensus among Chan scholars that this inscription is authentic, its date is an issue of controversy nonetheless. HU Shi provides two conflicting dates for the inscription in one of his articles: ca. 734, 753-56 (HU 1953: 10-13), while GERNET suggests 740 (1951: 48) for its date. YAMPOLSKY, who provides a paraphrase of Wang Wei's inscription in YAMPOLSKY 1967: 66-67, disagreeing with both HU Shi and GERNET, puts the composition of the inscription after 740. At any rate, since Wang Wei died in 759, the inscription, as far as its attribution to Wang Wei can be accepted, was definitely written before the year, less than half a century after Huineng died in 713.

dence suggests that Huineng was recognized as a member of the famous Lu family in Fanyang just to compensate for the obscurity of the far-off place in which he was born and raised, which was close to the southern border of China.¹⁶²

Secondly, sufficient evidence shows that the Fuxiansi was closely related to the Northern Chan tradition. Here, a brief history of this important monastery is necessary.¹⁶³

The Da Fuxiansi was founded by Empress Wu in Shangyuan 上元 2 (675) as Taiyuansi 太原寺 for the posthumous well-being of her mother. It became a *dasi* 大寺 (literally, “Great Monastery”; actually “Dynastic Monastery”) of the Zhou in 690 (690-705).¹⁶⁴ It was at this time that it received the name “Da Fuxiansi.” Empress Wu personally composed a memorial inscription in the *pianwen* 駢文 (“rhyme prose”) style for this monastery.¹⁶⁵ FORTE regards the Fuxiansi as the most important translation center in Luoyang during the late seventh and early eighth centuries.¹⁶⁶ Indeed, six Trepiṭaka¹⁶⁷ masters (Divākara, Devendraprajña, Bodhiruci 菩提流志 [?-727], Yijing, Mañicintana [i.e., Baosiwei 寶思惟, ?-721], Śubhakarasiṃha [i.e., Shanwuwei 善無畏 [637-735]]) successively worked at this monastery from 680 to 724.¹⁶⁸ Other prominent monks associated with this monastery include Fabao 法寶 (n.d.),

162. After giving his native place as Fanyang, Huineng’s SGSZ biography emphasizes that his family background was underscored for the purpose of removing the impression that he came from a backward, uncivilized place on an isolated island (略述家系，避廡亭島夷之不敏; 754c3).
163. FORTE 1973 remains the best study of the Fuxiansi Monastery. He is now working on a monograph on this monastery (FORTE forthcoming).
164. FORTE 1996: 366.
165. The text of this inscription is now preserved in QTW98 1: 1010a-12a. A partial translation of this lengthy and difficult composition is to be done in FORTE’s forthcoming monograph on the Fuxiansi.
166. FORTE 1996a: 444.
167. FORTE has reconstructed the Sanskrit original for Chinese term *sanzang* 三藏 as Trepiṭaka (Trepiṭaka in feminine gender), rather than Tripiṭaka, as is commonly assumed (FORTE 1990: 247-48). Here I follow FORTE’s reconstruction.
168. FORTE 1996a: 440. For Mañicintana, see FORTE 1984, which remains the most thorough study of this important monk. Śubhakarasiṃha’s connection to this monastery is remarkably important in the history of Chinese Esoteric Buddhism. It was at this temple that in 724 he finished translating into Chinese the *Darijing* 大日經 (*Mahāvairocana-sūtra*), probably the most important text for East Asian Esoteric Buddhism (T2061.50.715b17-18; cf. Ch’ou 1945: 265).

Daoyin 道胤 (668-740), Ziyu 子瑀 (?-752), and Daopi 道丕 (889-955).¹⁶⁹

In particular, this monastery seems to have maintained strong ties to the Northern Chan tradition. As is confirmed by Yan Tingzhi's inscription for Yifu, the Fuxiansi was the place where Du Fei 杜胙 (n.d.), another important Chan adept who was also the author of the renowned Chan historico-biographical collection, the *Chuan fabao ji*,¹⁷⁰ instructed Yifu in Mahāyāna Buddhism.¹⁷¹ After establishing himself as a prestigious Chan master, Yifu returned to the Fuxiansi in Kaiyuan 13 (725) at the order of Xuanzong, who was then conducting an inspection tour in Luoyang. Yifu resided at the monastery for two years, until Kaiyuan 15 (727), when he, with Xuanzong's consent, returned to Chang'an.¹⁷²

The legendary Northern Chan master Renjian 仁儉 (n.d.), who was better known for his two sobriquets, "Tengteng Heshang 騰騰和尚" and "Hanhan Heshang 憨憨和尚," also came from this monastery.¹⁷³ A piece of conversation allegedly conducted between Empress Wu and him became an oft-quoted story in the Chan literature.¹⁷⁴ What is particularly noticeable of Renjian for our purpose here is his direct, personal connections to Empress Wu.

Qiwei, whom we have already met in Section (II) as a second generation disciple of Puji and a possible fellow-monk of Shangusi Zhanran,

169. Cf. T50.2161.727b, 734c, 876c, 818c.

170. For Du Fei, see YANAGIDA 1971: 329-51 and MCRAE 1986: 86-87.

171. QTW280 3: 2842a10-11.

172. QTW280 3: 2843a3-4. This passage was already quoted and translated in note 135.

173. FORTE's forthcoming Fuxiansi monograph will provide a detailed discussion of this Chan monk's connection to the Da Fuxiansi.

174. T51.2076.232c15-21; cf. FORTE, forthcoming. The story (or anecdote?) has it that one day in the Tiance Wansui 天策萬歲 era (this brief era lasted less than three months), the empress bestowed an audience on the monk in the court. Throughout the audience, he said nothing and it was at the end of the audience that he broke the silence by the remark that he was observing the "precept of wordlessness (*wuyujie* 無語戒)!" On the following day, the monk sent to the empress nineteen short poems, which impressed her very much. The poems were edited by the empress' order and began to circulate among the populace rapidly. A poem entitled "Liaoyuan ge 了元歌 (poem of understanding the fundamental)," which is still preserved in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, is generally believed to be one of these nineteen monks composed by this monk.

was also ordained as a monk at this monastery by the eminent Vinaya master Dingbin 定賓.¹⁷⁵

Finally, Daoxuan 道璿 (702-60), who has been mainly remembered for his role in introducing the *vinaya* teachings to Japan, had close connections to the Fuxiansi.¹⁷⁶ He was ordained at the Da Fuxiansi¹⁷⁷ by Dingbin, under whom he studied the *sifenlü* 四分律 *vinaya* at the same monastery. After staying at the Fuxiansi for several years, Daoxuan left to pursue other forms of Buddhism, including the Nanshan 南山 tradi-

175. QTW501 5: 5105b3-4. For a brief biography for Dingbin, see a Japanese biographical collection for Chinese and Japanese Vinaya masters, *Ritsuen sōbō den* 律苑僧寶傳 (BZ105: 60a-b), completed by Eken 慧堅 (1649-1704) in 1689. Much evidence shows that Dingbin was an important *vinaya* monk celebrated during his life for his achievement in *vinaya* teachings. He belonged to the *xiangbu* 相部 sect of the Lüzung. In an epitaph dedicated to Guangxuan 廣宣 (755-827), who was Dingbin's second-generation disciple, Dingbin is praised for having turned the Fuxiansi into a centre of *vinaya* study for the whole country (LUOYANG WENWU GONGZUODUI 1991: 645). In addition to presiding over the ordination of the Qiwei and Daoxuan, Dingbin was responsible for conferring the orthodox *sifenlü* ordinations on the two Japanese monks Eiei 榮叡 (d. 748) and Fushō 普照 (d. 758?), who in 733 journeyed to China in search of a *vinaya* master willing to go to Japan to perform orthodox ordinations there (TOKUDA 1969: 503; GRONER 1984: 23). Finally, it is noteworthy that Dingbin seems to be the monk whom Śubhakarasiṃha's SGSZ biography refers to as "Bin Lüshi 賓律師" (Preceptor Bin), who, among others, supervised the funeral ceremony of Śubhakarasiṃha (ZHOU 1945: 270).
176. The importance of this Chinese monk derived partly from his status as the teacher of Gyōhyō 行表 (722-97), Saichō's 最澄 (767-822) preceptor. The primary biographical source for Daoxuan is a simple account provided by Kibino Makibi 吉備真備 (693-775), who during his diplomatic mission in China, established a friendship with Daoxuan. This account by Kibi was quoted in two works either attributed to Saichō and one of his main disciples. The first is the *Naishō buppō sōjō kechimyakufu* 內證佛法血脈譜 (Diagrammatic description of the secretly certified blood-lineages of the Buddha-dharma; DZ 1: 211-213), attributed to Saichō but actually completed, as I argued in my dissertation, at least several decades after Saichō's death in 822 (CHEN Jinhua 1997: 82-92). The second is a Tendai historico-biographical collection compiled by Saichō's disciple Kanjō 光定 (779-858), the *Denjutsu isshinkaimon* 傳述一心戒文 (Articles related to the transmission of the "one-mind precepts"; DZ 1: 617-18). Other relevant information for Daoxuan's life can be found in BZ 101: 3a1-12, 66b8-67a1, 190a8-b3; BZ 102: 71b4-72a9; BZ 105: 117b11-118a6, most of which appear similar as a whole (they might have been based on one and the same source, presumably Kibi's account).
177. In the *Kechimyakufu* the Da Fuxiansi 大福先寺 is wrongly written as Dai Fukukoji (Chin. Da Fuguangsi) 大福光寺 (DZ 1: 211).

tion of *vinaya* teachings, Huayan, Tiantai and Northern Chan, which he studied at Songshan under Puji. He later returned to the Da Fuxiansi, where he stayed until the two Japanese monks Eiei and Fushō succeeded in persuading him to travel to Japan in 736.

Given (i) Fuxiansi's Northern Chan background and (ii) the mounting opposition between the Northern and Southern Chan traditions at that time, it is hard to explain Fuxiansi Zhanran's decision to write an epitaph for Madame Lu with the hypothesis that he was a fervent follower of Huineng. By contrast, the following explanation seems to make more sense. The basis of this explanation consists of the following two facts: first, the Da Fuxiansi was a monastery of the Wu family; and second, Li Qinchou was a supporter of Empress Wu. Evidence shows that the status of the Fuxiansi as a Great Monastery persisted several decades after Empress Wu's demise.¹⁷⁸ It seems that its disgrace following Empress Wu's demise did not prevent the Wu family from funding the Fuxiansi, which continued to exist and function as an influential monastery beyond the 830s, or even throughout the whole Tang Dynasty.¹⁷⁹ In

178. FORTE 1996a: 460 and his forthcoming Fuxiansi monograph.

179. We know that the Fuxiansi was still functioning well at the time of Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 (772-842, biographies in JTS160 13: 4210-13, XTS168 16: 5128-32) and Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846, biographies in JTS160 13: 4340-58, XTS168 14: 4300-05), who, as evidenced by their poems, met and exchanged poems at this monastery (QTS360 11: 4065, QTS462 14: 5255). Bai Juyi's poem suggests that it was written shortly before Liu Yuxi left for Yuling 庾嶺 (i.e., Da Yuling 大庾嶺 in Jiangxi and Guangdong Provinces), which referred to Liu Yuxi's 805 exile to Lianzhou 連州 (in present-day Guangdong Province). Moreover, Huangfu Shi's 皇甫湜 (n.d.) XTS biography reports that the important Tang politician Pei Du 裴度 (763-838, two Tang official biographies found in JTS120 14: 441335; XTS173 17: 5209-19), while serving as the Regent (*liushou* 留守) of the eastern capital Luoyang, made efforts to renovate the Fuxiansi (XTS173 17: 5267). Pei Gu assumed his regency of Luoyang from Taihe 太和 8 (834) (XTS173 17: 5218-19) and he died four years later. The renovation of the Fuxiansi therefore occurred between 834 and 838. While it remains uncertain what prompted Pei Du to renovate such a politically complicated monastery, it is clear that the Fuxiansi prospered beyond at least the 830s, namely, almost one and half centuries after the Wu family's political clout was drastically diminished by the demise of its matriarch in 705. Finally, it might be an historical irony that a conversation conducted between Zhaozong 昭宗 (r. 888-904), the second last Tang emperor, and a minister at the Fuxiansi led to (at least partly) the murder of Zhaozong himself and five of his princes, and therefore eventually to the demise of the Tang Dynasty. The JTS informs us that after learning Zhu Wen's 朱溫 (852-912, who established in 907 a dynasty

view of this, it should not come as a surprise at all that a Da Fuxiansi monk wrote an epitaph for the daughter of a former official loyal to the monastery's most prominent sponsor.¹⁸⁰

Furthermore, an analysis of Huangfu Ran's poem suggests that Fuxiansi Zhanran had Chan (or we can even say more specifically, Northern Chan) ties. What might have immediately attracted the attention of a reader interested in Buddhism is the poem's reference to the two peaks of the celebrated Song Mountains, the Taishifeng 太室峰 and Shaoshifeng 少室峰, which are usually mentioned jointly as Ershifeng 二室峰. The Ershifeng were sometimes used to refer to Mount Song, which, located approximately seventy kilometers southeast of Luoyang, has been recognized as the Central Mountain (*zhongfeng* 中峰) among China's Five Sacred Mountains. The two lines in the poem make it clear that Zhanran was then visiting Mount Song.¹⁸¹ Huangfu Ran might have learned this from the Fuxiansi monks who knew their abbot's whereabouts. Mount Song is well known for its particularly close connection to and extraordinary prominence in Chan Buddhism.¹⁸² At that time, the

Later Liang to replace the Tang) plan of removing his oldest prince Dewang 德王 (d. 804), Zhaozong aired his resentment to Zhu Wen's accomplice Jiang Xuanhui 蒋玄暉 (biography in XTS223 20: 6360-61) during their visit at the Fuxiansi. Zhaozong's complaint, after conveyed to Zhu Wen by Jiang Xuanhui, exacerbated Zhu Wen and prompted him to kill the royal family in 804 (JTS175 14: 4546; it is Antonino Forte who drew my attention to this meaningful historical episode). Was it not a destiny that the Fuxiansi, a monastery with inextricable ties to Empress Wu, who substituted her reign for the rule of Li family for two decades, was associated with an event accelerating the final withdrawal of the Li family from the center of political stage which it had dominated for almost three centuries? We do not know. But it is of interest to us that even to the very end of the Tang Dynasty the Fuxiansi was still working well enough to attract Xuanzong's presence there.

180. I owe this explanation to Antonino Forte.
181. The two lines in question are *gaoguan shui liu ke? dongnan Ershifeng* 高館誰留高館誰留客？東南二室峰, for whose literal meaning see my translation in Section (IV).
182. The Chan tradition identifies Mount Song as the site where the first Chan patriarch Bodhidharma practised meditation by facing a wall for nine years and the place where Huike allegedly severed an arm to show his sincerity and determination to study under Bodhidharma. The two Chan patriarchs' connections to Mount Song were legendary and probably might have no historical veracity. However, this did not prevent Mount Song from becoming a – and arguably, the – sacred mountain of Chan Buddhism. For Songshan's close connections to early Chan, see particularly TONAMI 1990 and FAURE 1991.

mountain had been turned into an important center of Northern Chan partly due to activities of a number of renowned Northern Chan masters at the mountain.¹⁸³ Although one may be justifiably reluctant to conclude from Zhanran's pilgrimage to Mount Song that he was a Northern Chan master with formal sectarian affiliation, his sympathy with, if not admiration for, that Buddhist tradition is beyond question. This means that Fuxiansi Zhanran actually shared some common form of Buddhism with Shangusi Zhanran, who was an enthusiastic Northern Chan leader.

Moreover, the two Zhanrans shared some common friends, which might have made them friends as well. On the side of Shangusi Zhanran, his first friend to be mentioned here is of course Li Chang. They cemented their ties through the building project and maintenance of the pagoda for Sengcan.¹⁸⁴ Secondly, Shangusi Zhanran's close connections with Dugu Ji have been amply shown. Thirdly, since Huangfu Zeng was one of Dugu Ji's friends who had accompanied the latter during his

183. Puji's connection to Mount Song are well documented in his epitaph written by Li Yong 李邕 (678-747, QTW262 3: 2658a) and other sources, including the SGSZ biography for Yixing 一行 (673-727), who once studied under him before turning to other Buddhist traditions (T2061.50.733c). Puji entered Mount Song around 689 after shortly studying Tiantai and Vinaya teachings with Hongjing at the Yuquansi. He went to Mount Song for the purpose of seeking Faru's instruction in Chan. To his disappointment, he found that Faru had been dead shortly before his arrival. He had to turn to Shenxiu, who was then also based at the Yuquansi, for Chan instructions. After training him for several years, Shenxiu advised Puji to go back to Mount Song, where he led a Chan community at the Songyuesi 嵩嶽寺.

Yifu, perhaps the most famous fellow-disciple of Puji, also maintained close ties with the same mountain. Not unlike his senior fellow-disciple, he went to Mount Song to seek discipleship under Faru and ended up disappointed by the latter's death. And also like Puji, he apparently returned to Mount Song after staying with Shenxiu for several years, since his epitaph informs us that he resided at a temple on Mount Song before going to Chang'an in the Shenlong 神龍 era (705-06) (QTW280 3: 2842b7-8).

In addition to Faru and these two of his admirers, those renowned Northern Chan masters like Laoan 老安 (a.k.a Daoan 道安 or Huian 慧安, 582-708 T2061.50.822b12-c21, T2076.51.231c1-29), Pozhao 破灶 (T2076.51.232c22-233b6) and Yuangui 元珪 (T.2076.51.233b7-234a16) were associated with Mount Song.

184. As Shangusi Zhanran moved to Wangongshan after Li Chang sponsored the erection of the Wangongshan pagoda for Sengcan and renovated the originally deserted Shangusi temple at the mountain, it might be speculated with some certainty that he was actually invited to the Shangusi by Li Chang after the latter completed restoring the temple.

sojourns at the Shangusi temple which Shangusi Zhanran had superintended for years, he must have also been a close friend of Shangusi Zhanran. Finally, we have to consider his probable friendship with Huangfu Ran. The brotherhood between Huangfu Ran and Huangfu Zeng makes it highly probable that Shangusi Zhanran extended his friendship from Huangfu Zeng to his older brother. If not, the friendship between Shangusi Zhanran and Huangfu Ran could have easily been established through Dugu Ji, who was a close friend to them both. Here, we must emphasize the unusually close relationship between Dugu Ji and the Huangfu brothers.

Let us begin with Dugu Ji's friendship with the younger brother. Several of Dugu Ji's extant poems were written for, or in connection with, Huangfu Zeng. We have already discussed the two poems by Dugu Ji, both written as responses to poems from Huangfu Zeng. Dugu Ji has left to us two more poems dedicated to Huangfu Zeng.¹⁸⁵ As for Dugu Ji and Huangfu Ran, two of the latter's poems attest to their ties.¹⁸⁶ Finally, the following fact unmistakably establishes Dugu Ji's close connections to the Huangfu brothers: after finishing the compilation of his late brother's works into an anthology, Huangfu Zeng requested Dugu Ji to write a preface for it. In the preface itself, Dugu Ji expressed his emotional ties to the Huangfu brothers as friends and also his admiration for their literary accomplishments:

185. Both are preserved in the QTS. The first poem, entitled "Chou Huangfu Shiyu wang Tianqianshan jianshi zhi zuo 酬皇甫侍御望天灊山見示之作 (Responding to the poem on visiting Tianqianshan, shown to me by Censor Huangfu)," is relatively long (QTS246 8: 2764). Since Tianzhufeng (i.e., Tianzhushan) is close to Wangongshan and Sikongshan 司空山, the poem and the poem of Huangfu Zeng to which it responded must both have been written during Dugu Ji's tenure in Shuzhou. As suggested by its title, "Da Huangfu Shiyu beigui liubie zhi zuo 答皇甫十六侍御北歸留別之作 (Response to the poem left by Censor Huangfu [who is] the sixteenth [child of his family] on the occasion of his leaving for the North)," the second poem expresses Dugu Ji's regret over the termination of their intimate association in Shuzhou, which was brought about by Huangfu Zeng's decision to leave Shuzhou for the north (QTS247 8: 2776).
186. Huangfu Ran wrote the first poem, entitled "Dugu Zhongcheng yan peijian Weijun fu Shengzhou 獨孤中丞筵陪饒韋君赴昇州," while attending a party Dugu Ji held for a friend with the family name Wu who was leaving for Shengzhou (in present-day Jianglin 江寧 district of Jiangsu Province) (QTS249 8: 2795). The second poem, with a title "Fenghe Dugu Zhongcheng you Fahuasi 奉和獨孤中丞遊法華寺," is a response to Dugu Ji's poem on his visit to the Fahuasi (QTS250 8: 2823).

君母弟殿中侍御使曾，字孝常，與君同稟學詩之訓，君有誨誘之助焉。既而麗藻競爽，盛名相亞。同乎擊者，方之景陽孟陽。孝常既除喪，懼遺製之墜於地也。以及與茂政前後為諫官故，銜痛編次，以論撰見託。遂著其始終，以冠於篇。¹⁸⁷

The younger brother of the Honorable Sir (Huangfu Ran) [Huangfu] Zeng, with a style name Xiaochang, serves as Censor. Together they received instruction in the ways of writing poems. The Honorable Sir was helpful in teaching and guiding [Huangfu] Zeng. Later, their brilliant compositions competed with each other in beauty and they became equally famous [as poets]. Those who shared literary tastes with them compared them with [the Zhang brothers] Jingyang and Mengyang. After his mourning period was over, Xiaochang became afraid that his brother's late works would be forgotten. Since I and Maozheng had successively served as Remonstrance Official, he, after finishing the compilation of his brother's late works, commissioned me with the task of composing a preface [for the collection]. Accordingly, I related his life from beginning to end [in this preface], which is to be placed at the head of the collection.

Thus, as to Shangusi Zhanran's friends, the following conclusion can be drawn. With Huangfu Ran as his likely friend, he was certainly closely befriended by (1) Li Chang, (2) Dugu Ji, and (3) Huangfu Zeng.

Now, we turn to Fuxiansi Zhanran. In addition to his close relationship with Huangfu Ran, as is so convincingly established by the latter's poem written after his visit to the Fuxiansi, Fuxiansi Zhanran was a possible friend of Li Chang. The fact that Fuxiansi Zhanran wrote an inscription for Li Qinshou's daughter, who belonged to the Li family in Zhaojun, demonstrates that he had a special relationship with the family. Thus, he was very likely befriended by a member of the family, Li Chang.

In conclusion, we can say that Shangusi Zhanran and Fuxiansi Zhanran found common friends in the Huangfu brothers, Li Chang and, very likely, Dugu Ji. This suggests that the two Zhanrans might be one and the same monk, since it would seem highly improbable that more than two people happened to befriend two monks with the same dharma-name living so closely in time. The fact that both Zhanrans were followers of Northern Chan Buddhism also supports the interpretation that they were in fact one person.¹⁸⁸ However, after further consideration, I have

187. QTW388 4: 3941a8-12.

188. It is perplexing that so little material remains about Shangusi Zhanran and Fuxiansi Zhanran, two apparently rather significant figures in their time. Given their importance, the virtually complete absence of any trace of their activities in Chan sources cannot be explained by the volatile nature of Buddhist records in China, which would have easily caused the loss of biographical information for

to concede that the Zhanrans of the Fuxiansi and of Shangusi were more likely two separate monks than one person.

First, their occasional different temple affiliations dissuades, if not prevents, us from identifying these two Zhanrans as one person. As for Shangusi Zhanran, he began to live at the Shangusi on Wangongshan in Shuzhou sometime between 746, when Li Chang arrived at Wangongshan, and 762, when he was known in the capacity of the Shangusi *duweina*. After being installed at the Shangusi sometime before 762, he lived, more or less permanently, at the temple until at least 773. On the other hand, we know that Fuxiansi Zhanran was affiliated, at least for two periods (we do not know for how long each time), with a renowned monastery in Luoyang, which was far from the Shangusi. He was first known as a Fuxiansi priest around 742 and then, sometime around 767, was referred to as the *sizhu* of the same monastery, which meant that he had by that time lived there for a long period.

Although his 742 affiliation with the Fuxiansi does not present a big problem for his being identified with Shangusi Zhanran,¹⁸⁹ his status as the Fuxiansi *sizhu* around 767 makes it difficult, if not impossible, to believe that he was actually Shangusi Zhanran.¹⁹⁰ However, it is the

some monks. To identify the two Zhanrans might provide a satisfactory explanation for this. As Linda Penkower suggested to me in her comments on an earlier draft of this article, "the activities of this monk might have been lost to history due to his loss of credibility at the end of his life and the eventual rise to power of a rival faction of Chan, which was successful in wiping this Zhanran from the record books."

189. Since Shangusi Zhanran did not arrive at the temple until sometime after 746, his affiliation with the Fuxiansi in 742 does not present major difficulties for assuming that the monk Zhanran who was later known as Shangusi *duweina* was actually coming from Fuxiansi. In that case, we have to explain why he chose to move from a cosmopolitan, prestigious monastery to a mountain temple. The most important reason might have been the An Lushan Rebellion, which broke out in 755.
190. One might propose the following two assumptions to explain the contradiction created:
- 1) The title *sizhu* appearing in Huangfu Ran's poem does not necessarily mean that Zhanran was the Fuxiansi *sizhu*. He could be a *sizhu* of another temple (e.g., the Shangusi), who was temporarily residing at the Fuxiansi. In other words, he merely stopped by the Fuxiansi sometime in 767 before moving to Mount Song.
 - 2) Zhanran had been made the Fuxiansi *sizhu* before he went to the Shangusi. The title of *sizhu* in Huangfu Ran's poem does not mean that he was then still serving as the Fuxiansi *sizhu*, merely a reflection of his former position at the

following factor that more seriously undermines the hypothesis that the Zhanrans of the Shangusi and Fuxiansi were identical.

We know that the monk-calligrapher Zhanran, who was later to be known as Fuxiansi Zhanran, wrote in 720 an inscription for a memorial monument erected for Pei Guan. Given the fact that he was then referred to as *śramāṇa* and that he was chosen to write the inscription for a high-ranking official like Pei Guan, it was not likely that this Zhanran was then still younger than thirty. This means that he was born before 690.¹⁹¹ Had Fuxiansi Zhanran been Shangusi Zhanran, he would have been approximately 110 years old when he was summoned in 796 to the

Fuxiansi. In other words, he just went back to the Fuxiansi sometime in 767 as a visitor of his previous home-temple. Learning of his arrival at the Fuxiansi, Huangfu Ran, an old friend of Zhanran, then went to meet him there. But Zhanran left the temple for Mount Song before Huangfu Ran arrived.

I find that both hypotheses are implausible in assuming that Zhanran was not serving as the Fuxiansi *sizhu* at the time, which goes against what is implied in Huangfu Ran's poem. A close reading of Huangfu Ran's poem reveals that not only was then Zhanran regarded as the Fuxiansi *sizhu*, he was also expected to return to the temple to assume his position soon.

Let us turn to the title of Huangfu Ran's poem first. Since *sizhu* is juxtaposed with the name of a temple (Fuxiansi) in the title, it is logical to understand that Zhanran was here regarded as the *sizhu* of the temple. While both the title and content of Huangfu Ran's poem suggest that Fuxiansi Zhanran had left the temple by the time Huangfu Ran arrived there, it is my understanding that neither Huangfu Ran nor Zhanran's Fuxiansi fellow monks assumed that he was gone for good. The expression *liuke* 留客 (to detain a guest) in Huangfu Ran's poem suggests that Fuxiansi Zhanran was then merely making a sojourn at Mount Song. In other words, he was then temporarily, rather than permanently, absent from his temple. This is corroborated by the last line of this poem, *youyan guilu feng* 猶言歸路逢, which means that, on his way home from the Fuxiansi, Huangfu Ran was still hoping to encounter Zhanran on his way back from his trip. This is probably to be understood rhetorically, showing the author's desire to see Zhanran. However, it remains true that Zhanran was then still expected, at least by his Fuxiansi colleagues and Huangfu Ran himself, to return to his home-temple in Luoyang. Had Zhanran then not maintained a close tie to the Fuxiansi, e.g. acting as its *sizhu*, it would be hard to imagine why he was expected to go back there after his supposedly short visit at Mount Song. Thus, at least sometime around 766/7, Zhanran was still living at the Fuxiansi. Furthermore, his residence at the temple was more or less permanent – a monk would not have been considered for the abbacy of a temple as important as the Fuxiansi if he had not been expected to live there permanently.

191. This is corroborated by our analysis of one of Meng Haoran's poems dedicated to his friend Zhan Fashi, whom I identified as Fuxiansi Zhanran. The poem suggests that the monk was born before 686 (see note [137]).

capital for the national Chan debate. Even in the unlikely event that he was still been alive in 796, it is hard to imagine that his health would have allowed him to participate in the debate, which demanded more energy and attention than a 110-year-old monk can usually afford. If he *had* been there, surely his age would have been remarked upon. All this makes it extremely unlikely that Shangusi Zhanran was Fuxiansi Zhanran.

Finally, the following point also diminishes the possibility that Shangusi Zhanran was Fuxiansi Zhanran. In Section (II), I suggested that Shangusi Zhanran was an immediate disciple of Hongzheng and second generation disciple of Puji. Although we do not know Hongzheng's dates, we do know those for Puji (651-739) and two other disciples of Hongzheng (Qiwei [720-81], Changchao [705-63]) as well. If Shangusi Zhanran could be identified as Fuxiansi Zhanran, who was born before 686,¹⁹² he would have been at least 34 (!) or 19 years older than the two monks who were supposed to be his fellow-disciples, and have been a less than 35 junior of his dharma-grandfather!

In view of this, the Zhanrans of the Fuxiansi and of the Shangusi must be considered as two different monks, neither of whom can be identified with Tiantai Zhanran. Therefore, we have to be ready to accept the existence of three Zhanrans in the eighth century: (i) Shangusi Zhanran (?-796), (ii) Fuxiansi Zhanran (fl. 720-767) and (iii) Tiantai Zhanran (711-782).

The existence of three contemporary and homonymous monks makes us wonder, "If there were three Zhanrans running around with the same name in the eighth century, then why, as far as we know, did none of their contemporaries mention this remarkable coincidence?"¹⁹³ One pos-

192. *Ibid.*

193. Not too far in time from the great monk-translator Xuanzang (602-64) there lived a monk with the same name (from an account in his SGSZ biography that this minor Xuanzang participated in a vegetarian meal in the court in Jinglong 景龍 3 [709] [863c], we know that he flourished around four decades after the death of his better known homonymous; see CHEN Yuan 1981: 284-85). This Xuanzang was a native of Jiangling (in present-day Hubei Province). He distinguished himself by his expertise in the *Lotus Sūtra*. According to his SGSZ biography, with his reputation attracting the imperial attention, he was invited to the capital, where he stayed for two years. The SGSZ compiler Zanning noted and commented on the existence of these two eminent monks who not only lived closely in time but also bore the same dharma-name,

江陵玄奘與三藏法師，形影相接，相去幾何？然其名同實異，

sible explanation for this is that during his lifetime Tiantai Zhanran was not as famous as Tiantai historiographers would have us believe. Generally speaking, Tiantai Zhanran was confined to the south-eastern coastal area. It seems that Zhanran himself had no chance to see his influence extended to the north. It is highly questionable that at some points of his life he became so well known that he attracted attention from the three Tang emperors, who successively sought his personal presence in the court.¹⁹⁴

Furthermore, not only was Shangusi Zhanran inextricably tied to the Northern Chan tradition, which became a loser in the history of Chinese Buddhism, but he also ended up with a humiliating defeat in a national monastic debate. This might have prompted Buddhist (Chan in particular) historiographers to drive him into oblivion for the purpose of avoiding embarrassment to the monastic order. Mainly known as an accomplished calligrapher, Fuxiansi Zhanran probably did not figure so heavily in the monastic world at his time as his Shangusi dharma-brother. That might be another reason why their coexistence under the same

亦猶蘭相如得強秦之所畏，馬相如令揚雄之追慕，各有所長，短亦可見也 (T2061.50.732c3-6)。

As for Xuanzang of Jiangling and Dharma-master Trepitaka (Xuanzang), with one's body closely followed by the other's shadow, how far they were separated [in time]? However, they were distinct persons with the same dharma-name. This is like the case of Lin Xiangru and Sima Xiangru, one being feared by the strong Qin while the other admired by Yang Xiong. They each had their own strong and weak points.

Since the existence of the two Xuanzang still prompted Zanning to make such a comment more than three centuries after their death, it seems reasonable to speculate that this must have been a rather remarkable fact for the contemporaries of the two Xuanzangs.

194. FZTJ, T2035.49.189a6-7. It seems that the only known significant indication of Zhanran's influence in the elite society was Liang Su's alleged discipleship under him. However, it must be noted that Liang Su was only twenty-eight years old when Zhanran died in 782. It seems unlikely that their association lasted for more than several years. It is also particularly doubtful that Liang Su was already recognized as a luminary while he was associated with Zhanran. It is not until 780, barely two years before Zhanran's death, that Liang Su passed his *jinshi* examination, which marked the beginning of his political career. Although Liang Su, after getting his *jinshi* status, served as a *jiaoshulang* 較書郎 (*secrétaire réviser de textes*) at the Palace Library, which might have furnished him a relatively easy access to the emperor (XTS202 18: 5774), it is not certain if he obtained this job before Zhanran's death.

dharmaname became somehow less striking in the eyes of contemporary and/or later historiographers.

Some Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, I would like to underscore some main points that the research incorporated in this article has yielded. The main body of this article is devoted to clarifying the confusion surrounding a Northern Chan leader who, because he had the same dharmaname as that of the Tiantai patriarch Zhanran, has been wrongly identified with him. Evidence from a variety of sources shows that in the eighth century there lived two Buddhist monks who, despite their shared name, affiliated themselves with different Buddhist traditions, those of Tiantai and Northern Chan. Both were remarkable Buddhist priests commanding considerable influence within their respective schools. In the case of Tiantai Zhanran, his ascendancy to the status of Tiantai patriarch is amply demonstrated by Buddhist and especially Tiantai historico-biographical sources. The Northern Chan leader Zhanran, however, despite gaining fame during his lifetime, has disappeared into the shadow cast by his contemporaneous and homonymous Tiantai dharmabrother.

To be specific, this article begins with an inquiry into a series of Chan campaigns successively launched between 746 and 773, in which the Chan master Zhanran first participated and then led. This article goes on to discuss a Chan controversy which, as described in an epitaph dedicated to a Southern Chan master, involved this Southern Chan master and a dharmamaster called Zhanran. After recognizing this Chan controversy to be the famous 796 Chan council reported by Zongmi and Zhipan, I have identified the Northern Chan master Zhanran based at the Shangusi with this dharmamaster Zhanran participating in the national Chan council as a, if not the, representative of the Northern Chan tradition. A comparison of these two Northern Chan masters points to their identity. With other relevant sources considered, I have re-constructed the identity of this Northern Chan leader as follows:

The monk Zhanran moved from an unknown location to the Shangusi temple in Shuzhou sometime between 746 and 762, either driven by the An Lushan rebellion or invited by Li Chang, who sponsored a pagoda for Sengcan at Wangongshan and renovated the Shangusi temple on the same mountain. No later than 762, he had been made the Administrator (*duweina*) of the Shangusi and acted as a care-taker of the Wangongshan pagoda for Sengcan. He stayed at the Shangusi thereafter and became its

supreme leader by 772, when he initiated a new campaign to gain imperial recognition of Sengcan. Supported by three of his fellow-monks and two powerful local officials, this campaign succeeded in securing a formal title for Sengcan and a name for his Wangongshan pagoda. The reputation of this Chan master called Zhanran grew significantly following this successful Chan campaign, and we find that he attended the 796 national Chan council, taking a stance defending the Northern Chan tradition. For political and/or religious reasons, he was defeated and was expelled from the council with his followers. He died soon thereafter.

In addition to re-discovering this remarkable Northern Chan leader, in this article I collect and study some epitaphic and literary sources establishing the existence of a Chan master who, though contemporary to and homonymous with Tiantai Zhanran and the Northern Chan master Zhanran, cannot be identified as either of them. He was, very likely, also a Northern Chan adherent and, interestingly, a bitter critic of Tiantai. He distinguished himself mainly by his impressive calligraphic skills, for which he was highly praised in some later works. His career as a monk-calligrapher can be traced back to as early as 720 and continued until at least 767. What warrants especial attention is the fact that he was affiliated with such prestigious Luoyang temples as the Xiangshansi in Longmen and the Da Fuxiansi, the latter being Empress Wu's family temple. His ties to the Da Fuxiansi Monastery were close and sustained. He became the abbot of the Fuxiansi prior to 767.

Thus, in the eighth century there lived three monks who bore the same dharma-name but belonged to different Buddhist schools. While arguing for the necessity of differentiating these three Zhanrans, I believe that Shangusi Zhanran and Fuxiansi Zhanran may have known each other. As for their relationship to their contemporary Tiantai homonymous, nothing certain is known (we even do not know if either of them personally knew or heard of the Tiantai master or not).¹⁹⁵

Since dharma-names for medieval Chinese monks and nuns were constructed from a fairly small pool of vocabulary and often were intended to communicate the same Buddhist themes, virtues, and so on, it is not unusual for two Chinese Buddhist monks to share a dharma-name. The

195. It is interesting to note that Tiantai Zhanran shared his hometown (Piling) with Dugu Ji, who, as a likely friend of Fuxiansi Zhanran, was certainly befriended by Shangusi Zhanran, and that Dugu Ji and Tiantai Zhanran were both mentors to Liang Su (while the former nurtured Liang Su's literary talent, the latter took care of his religious concern).

best known example is perhaps the name Huiyuan 慧遠, by which two monks living in the fourth (334-416) and the sixth century (523-592) are known. Another well known example is Shenhui 神會, which was used by the enthusiastic Southern Chan defender about whom we had several occasions in this article to mention and a Jingzhongsi 淨眾寺 monk who was Zongmi's teacher.¹⁹⁶ Two less known examples are Xuanzang, which was discussed toward the end of Section (V) of this article, and Huaisu 懷素.¹⁹⁷ Recently, whereas Bernard FAURE has argued that two Tang monks went by the same dharma name Zhida 智達, KAMATA Shigeo 鎌田茂雄 has shown the probable existence of a Tang monk who shared the name of the Huayan master Chengguan 澄觀.¹⁹⁸ While it was not so often that two well-known contemporary monks share a name, it is unparalleled, as far as I know, that three monks living in a single century made their fame under a single dharma-name, Zhanran, which has become such a big name in the history of East Asian Buddhism. According to TANG Yongtong, the Sanlun 三論 predecessor Fadu's 法度 (437-500) name was shared by two contemporary monks (TANG 1983: 19). However, Fadu is not comparable to Tiantai Zhanran in importance. This should alert scholars of Chinese history in general and Chinese Buddhism in particular to the need to take care when gathering material on a well-known historical personage. It is more likely than we expect that a famous monk shared his name with others, contemporary or not. We must consider the possibility that a towering figure might block our view of one or even more homonymous persons of lesser importance.

Furthermore, this article provides a new understanding of a series of campaigns intended to catapult the previously little-known third Chan patriarch Sengcan to prominence. Formally carried out in the 740s and the 770s, these campaigns originated, as Chan scholars have correctly

196. The Jingzhongsi temple was situated in present-day Chengdu 成都 City of Sichuan Province. This Shenhui's (720-94) SGSZ biography is located in 764a-b. HU Shi argued that Zongmi actually descended from Jingzhongsi Shenhui's lineage, and that his lineage had no connection whatsoever to the Hezeisi Shenhui. JAN Yun-hua disagreed. It is JAN's opinion that Zongmi's connection with both Shenhuis are confirmed by historical sources (JAN 1988: 287-304).

197. For two Xuanzangs, see note 193. The name Huaisu was shared by two monks, one, living from 624 to 697, was a *vinaya* master (SGSZ biography in 792b-793a), the other, a famed calligrapher, lived one century later (725-785).

198. FAURE 1986, KAMATA 1992

understood, in the need for a clearer and more solidly constructed version of Chan lineage, which was, in turn, catalyzed by a deepening Chan consciousness. A more credible Chan lineage presupposed glorification of the more or less “adopted” third patriarch of the Chan tradition – Sengcan, about whom even less was known than about the shadowy Chan “founding” patriarch Bodhidharma. This understanding of that series of Chan drives is justifiable. However, it is problematic to distinguish the 740s campaign from the 770s petition with the assumption that the former was sponsored by a follower of Shenhui while the latter was launched as Northern Chan propaganda, with the purpose of belittling the Southern Chan tradition founded by Huineng.¹⁹⁹ This article, on the contrary, shows that both campaigns were in fact conducted by overlapping groups of Chan followers (both cleric and lay) close to or belonging to Northern Chan. We must question whether Shenhui had any role in the 740s movement. This claim seems to have been invented by the Southern Chan adept who authored the *Baolin zhuan*. The failure on the part of Chan scholars to recognize the link between these two Chan drives has prevented them from recognizing that the Northern Chan master Zhanran who directed the 770s Chan drive had also been involved in the earlier campaign.

Our re-discovery of the Northern Chan master Zhanran has led to the conclusion that the two substantial Chan campaigns devoted to Sengcan were, as a matter of fact, closely connected and formed a continuous project. They must therefore be understood as an important contribution of a Northern Chan group led by the Northern Chan master Zhanran to the formation of Chan ideology and its lineage. I wish to propose that the activities of the Northern Chan leader Zhanran in the 770s be taken as a significant indicator of the dynamism and influence the Northern Chan tradition showed in that period. It seems that the Northern Chan tradition continued to prosper at least until 796, when political intervention brought about the humiliating defeat of the Northern Chan tradition in a national Chan council and hastened, in all likelihood, the death of one of its chief defenders.

On the other front, an analysis of an epitaph written for a Southern Chan master corroborates the historical truth of an important and large-scale Chan council in 796, the authenticity of which scholars have generally doubted, mainly due to the polemical context in which Zongmi

199. YANAGIDA 1967: 325.

reported it. However, the same epitaph also reveals that Zongmi's account of this Chan council cannot be accepted without reservation. While it is true that such a Chan council did take place in 796, it did not, as Zongmi claimed, result in the imperial recognition of Shenhui's status as the seventh patriarch. This Chan council marked the victory of, in all likelihood, a Southern Chan tradition represented by Mazu Daoyi, distinct from and almost certainly in competition with, Shenhui's tradition.

As a final remark, let me observe that this article touches on two issues, which, despite its potential importance for the study of Chan Buddhism, lies beyond the main purview of this article and on which my research to date has not allowed me to elaborate yet.

The first issue is about the Da Fuxiansi monastery. The rediscovery of Fuxiansi Zhanran as a Northern Chan master raises the problem of how to understand and appraise the importance of this monastery as a center of East Asian Buddhist culture in general and Northern Chan Buddhism in particular. Probably due to political (its close connection to Empress Wu and her family) and/or religious (its strong background in Northern Chan Buddhism) reasons, this once important monastery has been almost entirely forgotten by historians except for Antonino FORTE, whose tenacious work on it has directly inspired my own research on Fuxiansi Zhanran. I hope this study will invite more scholarly attention to the Fuxiansi Monastery.

The second issue is of much broader significance, involving as it does problems like the connections the Tang monastic elite held with its lay counterpart on the one hand and contemporary "prestigious families" (*mingmen wangzu* 名門望族) on the other, the role political intervention (which might displayed itself as generous patronage or ruthless suppression) played in Tang Buddhist inter/intra-sectarian in-fighting, how the religious life of Chinese medieval literati-bureaucrats interacted with their political perspectives, and so on. A full-length discussion of each of these complex issues might demand a whole volume if not more. I hope that the research done for this article, with one of its focuses on the two Zhanrans' connections to their contemporary literati-bureaucrats, may shed light on some aspects of these thorny but important problems.

Shangusi Zhanran was particularly successful in winning friendship and patronage from high-ranking officials. His lay supporters included those remarkable mid-Tang literati-bureaucrats like Li Chang, Fang Guan, Dugu Ji and Zhang Yanshang, probably also Wang Jin and Yuan Zai. Despite their difference in personality, social status, and literary and

political abilities, all of Shangusi Zhanran's sponsors, except for Li Chang, about whose political stands we know nothing, were staunch "royalists" in the sense that they resolutely defended the authority of the central government, which was then seriously corroded by the increasing independence military prefects rapidly gained. This common political orientation shared by Shangusi Zhanran's most important sponsors known to us has fostered the speculation that some political purposes might have underlaid their enthusiasm for promoting Sengcan as an indispensable link in a broadly accepted Chan lineage. Some Chan scholars suggest that these royalist Tang officials might have conceived and helped create a standard and universal Buddhist lineage as an extension of and supplement to their political idea of a unified country controlled by a central government with the sovereign sitting at the top of the power pyramid.²⁰⁰ Although we do not know how Shangusi Zhanran appreciated and responded to their lay sponsors' political aspiration, it is certain that he, as fully demonstrated in the 770s campaign, skillfully turned the lay support to the service of his religious purposes. By doing so, he also unavoidably wedded himself and his religious group to these lay supporters. In view of this, the disgrace he suffered in the 796 Chan debate cannot be understood in exclusive religious terms. It must also be viewed as a result of political intervention. As all of his five chief supporters had been dead (with two of them, Wang Jin and Yuan Zai, disgraced before death) by the time, the political support Shangusi Zhanran could have mustered was considerably limited. On the other hand, the Chan groups opposed to him, like that represented by Dayi, were supported by the powerful Crown Prince. Given his importance to Northern Chan Buddhism, an in-depth study of the political factors underlying Shangusi Zhanran's humiliating failure as a Chan leader to the end of the eighth century might be revealing for us to understand the eventual decline of the Northern Chan tradition.

In comparison with Shangusi Zhanran, Fuxiansi Zhanran appeared even more active in associating with the contemporary literati; and his connections with the secular elite society were also more diverse than that commanded by his Shangusi homonymous. Individually, he was associated with those bureaucrats/literati like Lu Xun, Jia Sheng, Meng Haoran, Pei Guan, Zheng Jiong, and Huangfu Ran. However, what appears particularly striking of this monk is his extensive connections to

200. DU 1993: 197-99.

contemporary prestigious clans. His long-term affiliation with and final promotion to the top of the Fuxiansi monastic hierarchy attest to his close ties to this great clan which produced the only female sovereign in the history of China. In addition, it seems that his connections extended to all of the four most prestigious clans in the Tang society (Zhaojun Li, Fanyang Lu, Xingyang Zheng and Boling Cui). He also had a close connection with a sixth prestigious clan – the Pei family in Xima (Xima Pei 洗馬裴). Medieval China witnessed quite a few gifted monk-calligraphers, of whom Fuxiansi Zhanran might not be the most celebrated one.²⁰¹ However, as far as the epigraphic sources at our disposal go, he was most widely sought by his contemporary prestigious clans to execute the calligraphy for their members' epitaphs. When a prestigious family searched for a calligrapher to handwrite epitaph for its deceased member, the calligrapher's calligraphic skill was not the sole consideration. Also to be taken into account were his social status and his ties to the family itself. If a candidate happened to be a monk, his current status in the monastic hierarchy and his former family background became important factors. In view of this, I assume that some factors more than his calligraphic skills might have contributed to Fuxiansi Zhanran's unusual popularity as an epitaph calligrapher among several major Tang clans. These factors were very probably his own illustrious family background and his religious group's peculiar ties to those prestigious clans. Fuxiansi Zhanran must be viewed as an outstanding example of the close connection between the monastic and secular elite in medieval China (some eminent monks themselves came from prestigious families). In view of this, should we scrutinize the socio-religious implication of the "adoption" of Huineng into the Fanyang Lu family more closely against the broad context of the Chan connection to prestigious clans?

201. The best known, and perhaps also the most accomplished monk-calligrapher is Huaisu.

三湛然事蹟對覽表

(A Comparison of the Main Events in the Lives of the Three Zhanrans)

山谷寺湛然 (北宗禪師) Shangusi Zhanran (Northern Chan master)	福先寺湛然 (書家) Fuxiansi Zhanran (Calligrapher)	國清寺湛然 (天台宗師) Guoqingsi Zhanran (Tiantai Patriarch)
711		生於毘陵 Birth in Piling
720	裴觀功德碑 inscription for Pei Guan	
724-26	龍門香山寺孟浩然相訪 Visited by Meng Haoran at Xiangshan	
740	鄭夫人墓碑 epitaph for Madame Zheng	
742	盧夫人墓碑 epitaph for Madame Lu	
746	李常訪皖公山 Li Chang's arrival at Mt. Wangong	
748		剃度浙東 ordained in Zhejiang
754	鄭貞碑銘 epitaph for the Zhengs	
???		
???		
762	房瑄撰僧瓌塔銘 Fang Guan's epitaph for Sengcan's pagoda	
767	福先寺寺主·皇甫冉相訪 Fuxiansi abbot, visited by Huangfu Ran	
768		天台講經 lectures at Tiantai
770	獨孤及剖節舒州 Dugu Ji's arrival in Shuzhou	
772	表求封號僧瓌 petition for Sengcan's prestige	
773	獨孤及撰鏡智塔銘 epitaph for imperial conferral of a title on Sengcan	
782		卒於天台 death at Tiantai
796	神龍寺論諍，數旬而卒 participation in the Chan council and subsequent death	

Abbreviations Used in Footnotes:

- BLZ *Baolin zhuan* 寶林傳 (Transmission of the Baolinsi [the temple of "Treasure Forest"]). Songzang yizheng 宋藏遺珍 version.
- BS *Beishi* 北史 (History of the Northern Dynasties), 100 *juan*, completed by Li Yanshou 李延壽 in 659. Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 edition, Beijing 1974.
- BZ *Dainihon bukkyō zensho* 大日本佛教全書 (A complete collection of the Buddhist texts of the Great Japan). Edited by Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 et al, 100 vols. Tokyo: Yuseidō 1913-22; reprinted, Tokyo: Kodansha 1970-73; ed., Suzuki gakujutsu zaidan 鈴木學術財團.
- DZ *Dengyō Daishi zenshū* 傳教大師全集 (A complete collection of the works by Master Dengyō [Saichō]). Edited by Tendai shūden kankōkai, 5 vols. 1927-28 version. Hieizan: Toshō kankōkai.
- FZTJ *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 (A general record of the Buddha and other patriarchs), 54 *juan*; compiled by Zhipan 志磐 (n.d.) between 1258 and 1269. T no. 2035, vol. 49.
- GSZ *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Lives of eminent monks), 14 *juan*, completed by Huijiao 慧皎 (497-554) ca 530. T no. 2059, vol. 50.
- JS *Jin Shu* 晉書 (History of the Jin, 265-419), 130 *juan*, completed in 648 under the supervision of Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (578-648), Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 edition, Beijing 1975.
- JTS *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (Old History of the Tang), 200 *juan*, completed in 945 under the direction of Liu Xu 劉昫 (887-946). Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 edition, Beijing 1974.
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